# Daily Report

# East Europe

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27 July 1995

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*FBIS-EEU-95-144* *27 July 1995*

CONTENTS

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**ALBANIA**

Court Rejects Gjinushi's Suit Against Berisha *[RILINDJA 26 Jul]* ..... 1
Court of Cassation Postpones Nano Case Until Sep *[Tirana Radio]* ..... 1
Ruli Remarks on Progress of Economic Reform Laws *[KOHA JONE 26 Jul]* ..... 2
'Rightist League' Petitions Against Land Bill *[KOHA JONE 25 Jul]* ..... 2

**BULGARIA**

Navy Commander Explains Modernization Plans *[DUMA 24 Jul]* ..... 4
Zhelev, Pirinski Discuss 'Dramatic' State in B-H *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 4
Sokolov: Former Communists May Join SDS *[DEMOKRATSIYA 24 Jul]* ..... 5

**CZECH REPUBLIC**

Parliamentary Deputy Jan Vik To Be Prosecuted *[Prague Radio]* ..... 6
Ministry Opts for MiG-21 To Update Air Force *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 24 Jul]* ..... 6

**SLOVAKIA**

Deputy: Tendentious Reporting by U.S. Press *[Bratislava Radio]* ..... 7
Daily Views Furor Over Hungarians' U.S. Remarks *[SME 22 Jul]* ..... 7
Ponders Reason for Duray Apology *[SME 24 Jul]* ..... 7
MKDH Head Feels Unaware of SIS 'Surveillance' *[SME 24 Jul]* ..... 8
Minister Interviewed on Alternative Education *[Bratislava Radio]* ..... 8
Ministry Reports on Ethnic Cultural Problems *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 9
Meciar, Romanians Eager To Intensify Relations *[Bratislava Radio]* ..... 9
Progress in Dismantling Military Equipment *[Bratislava Radio]* ..... 10
Julius Toth on New Arms Holding Company *[SME 25 Jul]* ..... 10

**HUNGARY**

Horn Interviewed on EU, Bosnia, Chechnya *[Madrid ABC 25 Jul]* ..... 11
Foreign Ministry Hails NATO Decision on Bosnia *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 12
MSZP Committee Supports Stabilization Program *[MAGYAR NEMZET 26 Jul]* ..... 12
Editorial Views Positive Signs in Slovak Attitude *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 26 Jul]* ..... 13

**BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA**

Mazowiecki Resigns in Protest Against 'Inaction' *[AFP]* ..... 14
Tribunal Spokesman on Karadzic, Mladic Warrants *[Hilversum TV]* ..... 14
RSK Rejects Tribunal Competency *[FONET]* ..... 15
Silajdzic Welcomes U.S. Senate Vote on Arms *[AFP]* ..... 15
Claims Serbs Got 'Green Light' *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 16
Government Session Reviews Humanitarian Situation *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 17
Assembly To Reconsider Contact Group Plan *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 17
General: War Will Last 'Two or Three Years' *[Rome IL MESSAGERO 26 Jul]* ..... 17
Muslim-Croatian Military Alliance Discussed *[BOSNJACKI AVAZ 19 Jul]* ..... 18
French General on RRF's 'Dissuasive Role' *[Paris LE MONDE 26 Jul]* ..... 20
Muslim Official Confirms Zepa Evacuation Complete *[SRNA]* ..... 21
Refugees Arrive in Kladanj *[AFP]* ..... 21
Refugees Describe Evacuation *[AFP]* ..... 21
Serb Abuse, Robbery Reported *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 22
Mladic, Smith Discuss POW's *[SRNA]* ..... 22
UNHCR Warns of 'Humanitarian Disaster' in Bihac *[AFP]* ..... 23
Fighting Prompts 1,000 To Flee *[AFP]* ..... 23
Army: Serbs Want Divided Bihac *[AFP]* ..... 23
'Full Force' Offensive Continues *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 24
Gorazde Correspondent Reports Serb Attacks *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 24
Chemical Weapon Use Reported *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 24
Mladic Urges Defenders To Disarm *[AFP]* ..... 24
Karadzic Threatens 'World War III' *[Vienna NEWS 27 Jul]* ..... 25
Mladic Sees 'Common' Serb State as War Aim *[Vienna NEWS 27 Jul]* ..... 25
U.S. Arms 'Easy Booty' *[SRNA]* ..... 25
RS's Buha Wants U.S., Russia To Take Charge *[Banja Luka Radio]* ..... 26
Serb Commentary Predicts Capture of Gorazde *[GLAS SRPSKI 21 Jul]* ..... 27

## CROATIA

UN To Reinforce Presence Along Border *[AFP]* ..... 29
Sanader: Zagreb Prepared To Defend Bosnia *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 25 Jul]* ..... 29
'Specific Measures' Considered *[Vienna KURIER 27 Jul]* ..... 30
Weekly: U.S. Gave Zagreb 'Green Light' *[TANJUG]* ..... 30
Troops Reportedly Fire on FRY Army Positions *[VECERNJE NOVOSTI 21 Jul]* ..... 31
Serb Krajina Declares General Mobilization *[Belgrade Radio]* ..... 31
Martic Explains Mikelic's Dismissal *[Korenica Radio]* ..... 32
RSK's 'Political, Territorial Breakup' in Sight *[NIN 21 Jul]* ..... 33

## POLAND

Mazowiecki Resigns as Envoy to Former Yugoslavia *[Warsaw TV]* ..... 35
Clinton Adviser Daniel Fried Grants Interview *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 26 Jul]* ..... 35
Weekly on Foreign Minister's U.S. Statement *[GAZETA POLSKA 27 Jul]* ..... 37
Bishop Criticizes Nonratification of Concordat *[Warsaw Radio]* ..... 37
More on Minister's Views on U.S. Aid for Silesia *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 26 Jul]* ..... 38
New Rightist Bloc To 'Replace' Covenant *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 27 Jul]* ..... 38

## ROMANIA

Paper Alleges Country Smuggling Oil to Serbia *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 40
Daily: UDMR Blackmailing Budapest, Bucharest *[CURIERUL NATIONAL 21 Jul]* ..... 40
Privatization Seen as Salvation of Defense Industry *[TINERETUL LIBER 24 Jul]* ..... 41

## YUGOSLAVIA

**Federal**

FRY, German Communist Parties View Crisis *[Belgrade Radio]* ..... 42

**Montenegro**

NSCG Criticizes Government 'Silence' on Bosnia *[NASA BORBA 26 Jul]* ..... 42

**Kosovo**

Serbs Reportedly Create Settlements for Colonists *[Editorial Report]* ..... 43

**Court Rejects Gjinushi's Suit Against Berisha**

*AU2607171795 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 26 Jul 95 p 4*

[Article by "S.N.": "Gjinushi's Request Refused"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Constitutional Court yesterday refused a request by the parliamentary group of the Social Democratic Party [PSD] because the issue concerned did not fall within the competence of the court.

Some time ago, Skender Gjinushi, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, had submitted a suit on behalf of the parliamentary group asking certain articles involving material from the files of the former State Security Service in RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE to be declared unconstitutional, and also to declare unconstitutional the silence of the chairman of the National Intelligence Service [ShIK] and the president of the republic over what the suit called the doctoring of the files. According to the Constitutional Court, presentations in connection with the president of the republic do not fall under the responsibilities of the court, because these are covered by other organs of the state, while the president of the republic does not bear responsibility for the inaction of other bodies. Nor is the president of the republic accountable for actions undertaken as part of the exercise of his functions, except treason and violations of the law on the constitutional dispositions. The Constitutional Court laid down that the People's Assembly is the only body that may broach the question of the responsibility of the president of the republic.

There is no basis for the demand of the Social Democratic parliamentary group to declare anticonstitutional the manipulation and blackmail of RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in connection with the files of the former State Security Service and the chairman of the ShIK, the court's decision states. Privacy and human dignity are defended by the organs of justice, and the Constitutional Court therefore suggested that such claims should be addressed to other bodies.

**Court of Cassation Postpones Nano Case Until Sep**

*AU2607171695 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[Report by Rezear Xhaxhiu]

[FBIS Translated Text] There was special interest today at the Court of Cassation plenum about the trial on the demand for the defense of the legality of the Nano case. The hearing started with two preliminary demands that Prosecutor General Alush Dragoshi asked from the relevant plenum: to dismiss Court of cassation Chairman Brozi from the panel of judges and to postpone the process. His arguments were strict, stating that it is not the presence of Brozi on the panel of judges, as he has been there before, but the fact that Zef Brozi in 1993 positioned himself in favor of Nano's guilt and of lifting his immunity as a legislator. According to Dragoshi, the presence of Brozi in this panel of judges arouses suspicions on his one-sidedness on the issue in question.

The chief of the Albanian prosecutors gave arguments to the second demand, that of postponing the process, with the impossibility of being acquainted with the file of appeal and not knowing the Italian judiciary documents.

The defense retorted toward this stance maintained by Dragoshi.

Defense attorney Sanxhaku considered the demands of the Albanian chief prosecutor to be absurd. The defense further added that there have been manipulations by the Prosecutor's Office and that postponing the hearing with Dragoshi's pretexts is an unacceptable game.

Dragoshi retorted again, asking for time at his disposal.

The withdrawal of the plenum members to reach a verdict on the demands of prosecutors lasted for more than two hours. At the end of these two hours, Brozi's short verdict was received with interest. In his verdict, Brozi publicly denounced Qazim Gjonaj's delay in handing the file over to the College of Attorneys. Brozi continued, saying that the case may be tried after 12 August, when the new Code of Penal Procedure takes effect.

From this conclusion and the fact that prosecutor Dragoshi needs to acquaint himself with the file of appeal, the plenum decided that the Nano case be tried in September.

At the end of the hearing, defense attorney Sanxhaku considered the arguments of the court plenum to be convincing.

[Begin Sanxhaku recording] The arguments that the Court of Cassation chairman brought forth are convincing. Postponing will not bring any changes to the content. I am convinced that the Court of Cassation chairman will break up the three decisions of the previous court levels and will declare Fatos Nano innocent. [end recording]

[Xhaxhiu] Thus, for the second fall, the most talked about case of Albanian politics in the past years will again leap over to the Court of Cassation table.

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**Ruli Remarks on Progress of Economic Reform Laws**

*AU2607174195 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 26 Jul 95 p 11*

[Interview with Genc Ruli, chairman of the Parliamentary Commission for Finance and Economy, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Seventy Percent of Laws Govern Economic Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [KOHA JONE] What is the role of legislation in the progress of the reform toward a free market economy?

[Ruli] The role of legislation has been decisive on the road on which Albania has embarked toward the democratization of political and economic life. Today's parliament has the historic credit and honor of achieving a radical transformation of the legal system of the state created by the dictatorship by approving a host of important democratic laws that institutionalize the rule of law, accomplish the reform, lay the foundations of a free economy, and permit the country's increasing integration into the international community. Although drafted and approved during this difficult transition period, the majority of laws are not of a temporary nature but extend to the long-term legal regulation of the country.

[KOHA JONE] What can be said of the influence of economic laws approved in order to lay the foundations of a market economy?

[Ruli] I can say without fear of error that almost 70 percent of the laws approved by this legislature are laws governing economic relations. These laws have a twofold effect. On the one hand, they decisively put an end to the legal regulation of the centralized state economy, and on the other hand, they underpin new relations based on the principles of the freedom of property, freedom of the individual, and freedom of private economic initiative. The large number of important economic laws especially include those permitting the creation of new institutions and measures to restructure the economy. Among these we can mention the laws on privatization, the distribution of the land, the transformation of state enterprises into stockholding and commercial companies, the banking system, the public budget and the fiscal system, the liberalization of prices, on wages, the Civil Code, the Penal Code, the Labor Code, and so forth. As you can see, they concern the preparation and approval of the legislative basis that we have lacked and that will sanction our country's new economic realities. They have been prepared by extensively exploiting the world's most advanced legal experience and the specific experience of countries that embarked on the road of transition before us. The second process is that of remodeling, changing, and improving the laws approved in this very same legislature. The need for this becomes apparent because of the extremely fast evolution of economic realities and the need to adapt laws to the experience gained during their practical application in our country.

[KOHA JONE] How do investors feel, particularly foreigners, about the economic laws that parliament has approved?

[Ruli] Our legal system is of course increasingly becoming adapted to the interests of domestic and foreign investors. Many laws debated with a high sense of responsibility and now approved such as the law on privatization and on free private initiative, on foreign investments, the fiscal laws, and the ratification of agreements with many different countries to protect and encourage investment and eliminate double taxation, etc., have played an important role in this direction. Laws currently under examination such as that on concessions in the sectors of public investment, the law on the purchase and sale of land, the law on investment funds, etc. will also have a significant effect on encouraging investments.

[KOHA JONE] In such things as privatization and the establishment of a market economy, how does Albania's rate of progress compare with that of other European postcommunist countries?

[Ruli] I do not think there is any doubt that we are among those countries with the fastest rate of change. We must remember that we started the main changes later than most of the postcommunist countries and faced a less developed and more difficult reality than they did. The real situation prevailing in our economy today, created in only a few years, testifies to rates of change that few of those countries can rival.

**'Rightist League' Petitions Against Land Bill**

*AU2507144995 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 25 Jul 95 p 3*

[Article by Elio Elini: "180,000 Signatures Before Parliament"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The "Rightist League," through a delegation led by Republican Party Deputy Chairman Fatmir Mehdiu, delivered a petition signed by about 180,000 people to the offices of the People's Assembly today, one day before the Land Bill comes before parliament. "Only some of the collected signatures will be handed in today. This is because the way in which the Land Bill is hastily being put before parliament has not left us time to bring all the signatures from

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the districts and prefectures," Sabri Godo told KOHA JONE. The Republicans, well known as the guiding spirits of the bloc of "Rightist" forces, are seeking to do their utmost in the defense of property, the sole banner that they can raise in this campaign. The Republicans and their allies in defense of the land are now united in a single front against Berisha and the Democratic Party program that includes the purchase and sale of land. In any case, it is not expected that the signatures collected by the parties combined in the "Rightist League" will influence parliament, which is for the first time guided by a kind of consensus on the bill on the purchase and sale of land. Regarding the Land Law, the socialists take the same view as the government, which suggests that the "League" will not find it easy to bring down the government-sponsored Land Bill in the Albanian parliament. However, while it is thought that parliament will pass the bill, some sources within the Republican Party claim that a considerable number of Democratic Party deputies would vote against the purchase and sale of land if a secret ballot were held. In the wake of the petition to the People's Assembly, it is thought that the "Rightist League" and the Republican Party will not give up the program that they announced only a few days ago at a meeting of the "League's" leaders. After today's submission of signatures to the People's Assembly, it only remains to expect mass protests organized by the parties of the "League."

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**Navy Commander Explains Modernization Plans**

*AU2607174295 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Jul 95 p 3*

[Interview with Vice Admiral Khristo Kontrov, commander of the Bulgarian Naval Forces, by DUMA representative Nikolay Zhelev; place and date not given: "NATO Shows Interest in the Bulgarian Navy"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Zhelev] Will difficulties hamper the task of preserving the Bulgarian Naval Forces?

[Kontrov] We are hampered not only in preserving them, but also in renewing them. As a naval officer, I will remind you that the countries of the modern world are increasingly transferring the field of battle from land to sea. The sea is an open door that cannot be locked and bolted. In conformance with the defensive nature of the new Bulgarian military doctrine, we are guided by the requirements of reasonable sufficiency—this means an armed force supplied with adequate equipment and manpower that is capable of effectively repelling any aggressor.

[Zhelev] Is the Bulgarian Navy in this state at present?

[Kontrov] Yes, undoubtedly. The Naval Forces are a reliable defender of our marine border.

[Zhelev] What are your grounds for saying this?

[Kontrov] They are based more on the foreseeable future. The Military Council has approved a program for raising the Navy to the optimum level. For example, in the future we will rely on multipurpose vessels of 800 to 1,000 metric tons.

[Zhelev] In what sense do you mean?

[Kontrov] We need light surface forces consisting of missile corvettes and patrol boats to repulse our opponent's surface forces, and in peacetime these will be used to monitor our territorial waters. We also need multipurpose diesel-electric submarines to carry out reconnaissance, combat enemy submarines, and destroy large fighting ships and transport vessels. We will also rely on shore-based missile and artillery units equipped with short- and medium-range missiles, patrol vessels, naval aircraft, naval minesweepers, and various auxiliary vessels.

[Zhelev] From whom will we buy them?

[Kontrov] Why do we have to buy them, and then pay through the nose for spare parts? What prevents us from starting to produce them ourselves? We have enough shipyards of good repute and we have excellent shipbuilders. Such a policy also has a social aspect: It will create hundreds of new jobs.

[Zhelev] At a news conference some time ago you stated that the Navy will also assume certain additional functions. What are these?

[Kontrov] The idea of creating a modern Navy incorporates this proposal as well. The new realities of military policy and economics require the Navy to undertake certain additional functions in peacetime, such as countering smuggling and narcotics trafficking, checking that the country's economic interests are observed, carrying out rescues, helping the Border Troops, monitoring the environment, and so on. When we speak about a modern fleet, we mean a changing over to modern technologies and developing a national shipbuilding program. [passage omitted]

[Zhelev] The Navy has been engaging in impressive international activities. What is the reason for this?

[Kontrov] The navies of the whole of Europe and NATO are showing great interest in the Bulgarian Navy. Since 1991 more than 760 naval vessels have visited us from the United States, Russia, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Turkey, Greece, and so on—about 25 countries in all. However, we do not only act as hosts. We also pay return visits. [passage omitted]

[Zhelev] What are the immediate problems facing the Navy?

[Kontrov] There are many of them. We have to make an early state on our national shipbuilding program. At the moment, 95 percent of the ships in our fleet are foreign-made, and we need a lot of money for spare parts. We are also impatiently waiting for parliament to pass the defense and armed forces bill, so that we can stop the drain in our manpower. I welcome the decision to train young servicemen separately. This will help them adapt with less pain to service conditions that they find unfamiliar.

**Zhelev, Pirinski Discuss 'Dramatic' State in B-H**

*AU2607171595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The dramatic situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] was the subject of talks today between President Zhelyu Zhelev and Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski. Bulgaria's position remains unchanged on refraining from direct or indirect participation in the military operations in former Yugoslavia in any form, including under the aegis of the United Nations, Foreign Minister Pirinski told journalists. He added that the Bulgarian institutions can unite in expressing their concern that the peaceful solution to the Bosnian crisis is becoming more remote, and in voicing their support for the international community's

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efforts to bring the issue back to the conference table. He emphasized that it must be understood that the international community is bound to react strongly if it continues to be subjected to gross provocations by any of the warring parties.

Today, President Zhelev summoned the ambassadors of the countries whose troops are taking part in the Rapid Response Force in Bosnia to discuss the Bosnian conflict. He told the leaders of the diplomatic missions from Great Britain, the United States, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Italy that Bulgaria supports the efforts of a number of international organizations and individual countries aimed at lessening tension and preventing the escalation and spread of the conflict in former Yugoslavia.

Bulgaria continues to hold its conviction that the UN forces play a key role in maintaining the humanitarian actions in former Yugoslavia, President Zhelev added.

**Sokolov: Former Communists May Join SDS**

*AU2607130095 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 24 Jul 95 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Sokolov: The SDS Is Again Open to Former Party Members"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia—The SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] has now opened its ranks not only to nonmembers of parties, but also for former party members. Yordan Sokolov, chairman of the SDS Parliamentary Group, announced this on national television yesterday. In his view, some of the decisions adopted by the Fifth and Sixth SDS National Conferences were proposed and voted on in a provocative manner, which drove away from the coalition many former members of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. Sokolov reminded the viewers that in 1989, the BCP had almost 1 million members, but its membership had now declined to 300,000 [referring to membership of Bulgarian Socialist Party, the BCP's successor].

Sokolov said that it had been a r[illegible]take by these decisions to drive away some of the people who had joined the former Communist Party because of compulsion or so they could practice their professions. Now the SDS is again open for them to join, and it is has been observed that former BCP members are joining the newly founded SDS municipal assemblies and local clubs, Sokolov noted with satisfaction. Yordan Sokolov added that it is the SDS's aim to establish one of its structures in every center of population, which is absolutely essential in view of the forthcoming local elections.

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**Parliamentary Deputy Jan Vik To Be Prosecuted**

*LD2607144795 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] A notice of prosecution against the chairman of the deputy club of the Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia, Jan Vik, was handed over today by the Chamber of Deputies to the investigation office in Prague.

It is the first time the Czech parliament has stripped one of its members of diplomatic immunity and handed him over for prosecution.

**Ministry Opts for MiG-21 To Update Air Force**

*AU2607140295 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 24 Jul 95 pp 1-2*

[Report by "km": "The Army Has Decided in Favor of the Old MiG-21 Fighters"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The strategic decision regarding how the the national airspace will be defended has been made. Despite the disfavor of the parliament's deputies, the Defense Ministry definitely opted to modernize the old Russian MiG-21 fighters.

After the modernization, the efficiency of the new aircraft will be 80 percent that of the U.S. F-16 fighter. Thus, the contemplated purchase of modern Western planes will not take place. The modernization of 24 MiG-21's will cost some $135 million, while the purchase of Western fight plans would come to approximately $750-870 million.

Defense Minister Vilem Holan said last week that for now the Army will modernize just two fighters as prototypes, and only then will it be decided whether all of the needed 24 aircraft—or two flights—will be modernized. Sources close to the Army command and staffers from the minister's office confirmed, however, that the production of prototypes unequivocally determines the refurbishment of one of the most important parts of the air defense: the fighter jets.

At any rate, the deputies from the parliament's Defense and Security Committee passed a resolution during their special session at the end of June, in which they urgently recommended to the defense minister that the project of modernizing the MiG-21 not be launched.

At the same time, sources at the Defense Ministry confirmed that the actual bidding to modernize the Russian fighter plane has already begun. According to the law on tenders, the ministry called on four Czech enterprises to submit their projects on this arms order. The enterprises considered for this lucrative contract are Aero Vodochody, Let Kunovice, Letecke Opravny Malesice, and Letecke Opravny Kbely.

The victor in this competition will be able to choose a foreign partner to coordinate the modernization. Experts from the defense sector said that the likely candidates are, above all, the Israeli arms manufacturers IAI and Elbit and the French concern Sextant Avionik.

The Army denied the deputies' claim that the modernized MiG would not guarantee the security of the state. "We have results of numerous studies that speak clearly in favor of modernization.

"It is the most viable alternative, from the political, economic, and military points of view," stated one high-ranking ministry official, who wishes to remain anonymous because Minister Vilem Holan has announced an embargo on the details of the project.

The structure of the aircraft should remain unchanged. The navigation and weapons hardware will, however, be modernized. In combat situations, the aircraft will no longer be so dependent on ground navigation.

The pilot will have in the cockpit the most modern avionics, which will guide him, with no problems, to both land and air targets. "Without the modernization, the fighter would be doomed to be shot down after takeoff," said one Army expert.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 24 July on page 2 adds that the controversy over the modernization continues. Namely, "the deputies are not giving up on the possibility of the Republic's purchasing the U.S. F-16 fighters, despite the fact that purchasing Western machines would be much more expensive than modernizing the MiG fighters." The article also quotes threats that "if the Army modernizes the Russian machines, the parliament will reduce the defense budget next year."]

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**Deputy: Tendentious Reporting by U.S. Press**

*LD2607140495 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Roman Hofbauer, chairman of the parliamentary committee for the economy, privatization, and business, told U.S. Ambassador to Slovakia Theodore Russel that he was sorry to see that U.S. journalists were drawing their information about developments in our country from sources other than Slovak.

Hofbauer thinks the U.S. press writes about Slovakia in an unobjective, tendentious, and demeaning manner. In his opinion, the negative and erroneous information is not based on the sources of the U.S. Embassy in our country.

**Daily Views Furor Over Hungarians' U.S. Remarks**

*AU2607135895 Bratislava SME in Slovak 22 Jul 95 p 4*

[Commentary by Robert Kotian: "Concerning the United States' Influence in Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The United States is preparing to take firmer steps to preserve democracy in Slovakia, said Hungarian Civic Party [MOS] chairman L. Nagy at a press briefing on 18 July. According to Nagy, the view prevails in the United States that Slovakia is becoming detached from the other Visegrad Four countries, first and foremost as far as the orientation of economic transformation and the observation of human and minority rights are concerned. Therefore, according to Nagy, a certain warning should be issued to Slovakia in the fall. This warning could take the form of an initative by congressmen and senators with regard to President Clinton, an initiative within the two chambers of Congress, or an individual initiative by certain congressmen and senators oriented directly toward the Slovak Republic. This was perhaps the most significant thing contained in the report on the press briefing carried by our daily on Wednesday.

On the same day, the U.S. Embassy issued a statement in which it says, among other things, that no representative of the U.S. Administration had suggested to the chairmen of the three Hungarian parliamentary parties that the United States would contemplate somehow interfering in the internal affairs of the Slovak Republic. On the contrary, according to this statement, U.S. officials from the Department of State and the National Security Council had repeated the assurances that President Clinton made last year to Prime Minister V. Meciar on the United States' continuing support for the reforming and democratic Slovakia, as well as for its integration into the transatlantic institutions.

In the wake of these two statements, a third statement is required: It is certainly unfair to the representatives of the U.S. Administration if, unintentionally, they are placed in a situation to which the U.S. Embassy has to respond, a situation that has cast the MOS chairman in a foolish and unreliable light and also, by extension, "Hungarian" policy in Slovakia. (Even if L. Nagy were also right about U.S. concerns about the political and economic trends in Slovakia—which seems probable to me—professional politics are not conducted like this.) It is equally (although to a lesser extent) unbecoming, to say the least, if Foreign Minister J. Schenk considers this affair to be such "a gross violation of Slovakia's national interests" that the National Council of the Slovak Republic Mandate and Immunity Committee should deal with the whole thing, when we know that the governing movement saw the EU demarche as a "friendly gesture" and that our minister did not demand that similar conclusions (they would have been against his movement) be drawn from another statement issued by the U.S. Embassy (rejecting the comparison of the OKO [Special Supervisory Body] report to the Watergate scandal). This is to say nothing of how politicians of the ilk of Meciar and Slota will manage to misuse this professional mistake in the ordinary Slovak soul.

We will carry a commentary on 24 July on a fourth bizarre dimension of the whole affair: Egyutteles chairman M. Duray's method of distancing himself from the remarks made by his coalition partners.

Is it not encouraging, though, to see the governing coalition take the U.S. point of view so seriously?

**Ponders Reason for Duray Apology**

*AU2607160395 Bratislava SME in Slovak 24 Jul 95 p 4*

[Commentary by Ondrej Dostal: "On Detachment, Stepping Over the Line, and Surplus Labor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The former German consul general in Bratislava, Dieter Bricke, has urged the European Union (EU) and the German Government to adopt a critical stance on the Slovak Republic's request to join the EU and to consider it separately from the applications of the other Visegrad Four countries. Following the remarks by the Hungarian Coalition's (MK) politicians that the predominant view in the United States is that the Slovak Republic is becoming detached from the Visegrad Four, this will certainly provide further proof for certain former ministers of the coordinated nature of the anti-Slovak campaign. In this case, however, the issue does not involve the unqualified opinion of an amateur foreign correspondent who writes

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about Slovakia from Prague merely on the basis of reports from the Czech media and Slovak emigres. It is not, admittedly, even a "U.S. step to preserve democracy in the Slovak Republic," but it certainly increases the likelihood that U.S. representatives did allude to something like this to the MK's chairmen in the United States.

How they then presented this view is, however, another matter. The remarks to which the U.S. Embassy was forced to respond were certainly not well chosen and, from the point of view of Hungarian policy in Slovakia, amount to a grave error—and not only because their transatlantic casting of doubt plays into the hands of Slovak nationalists. That is to say: Part of the Slovak public (political, journalistic, and civic) is antagonistically disposed in advance toward the Hungarian minority regardless of this recent affair. Again, another part of the public is aware of the need for Slovak-Hungarian dialogue and cooperation—also regardless of such incidents. The game now is about the rest. And, indeed, situations like this one do not make it easy for the hesitant part of the Slovak public to make up its mind.

It has happened more than once that the Hungarian minority's political representatives have adopted different approaches with regard to Slovak policy. Their momentary differentiation is, however, very unusual. The Hungarian Civic Party and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement have found themselves in the role of radicals; the otherwise more radical Egyutteles movement is in the "pro-Slovak" position. And, moreover, this accommodating stance now relates not to the standard parties but to the governing coalition. M. Duray's initial reticence, given the remarks of his coalition colleagues, could still seem like an attempt not to blow up the emerging scandal too much. His apology to the United States and the Slovak Government, however, is undoubtedly the kind of arrant surplus labor that will trip up his partners. Inevitably, therefore, the suspicion arises about whether the public has really found out everything about the recent "private" and, in addition, almost "exposed" meeting between M. Duray and V. Meciar because something happened at that meeting that will point political relations in Slovakia toward hitherto unfathomed directions.

### MKDH Head Feels Unaware of SIS 'Surveillance'

*AU2607125595 Bratislava SME in Slovak 24 Jul 95 p 2*

[Report by TASR: "Bugar Is Unaware of SIS Surveillance, but All Sorts of Things Are Possible"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—I do not feel in danger from the Slovak Information Service (SIS). If someone wanted to get rid of me somehow, he could do it without shadowing me. This statement was made by Bela Bugar, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH). Bugar was responding to the question of whether he, like Egyutteles Chairman Miklos Duray, is convinced that SIS activity is focused on him. He explained that he has experienced threats being made against him by the Dunajska Streda mafia, with which he had come into conflict. He was not specific about the kind of dispute this involved, but, at present, he considers it to be "resolved." In connection with SIS activity, he commented that, under the management of Ivan Lexa, this secret service body may also be misused for political aims because the opposition does not have the possibility of monitoring its activity. "I can imagine that they tap phones; all sorts of things are possible. However, inasmuch as I have no proof, I cannot talk about surveillance," added the MKDH chairman. Bugar will not take part in the meeting in Debrecen, Hungary, on 27 July, which, among other things, will also be oriented against the draft law on the national language and the introduction of alternative education. Bugar considers the fact that Egyutteles Chairman M[illegible]s Duray is to make a speech there to be his busine[illegible]

### Minister Interviewed on Alternative Education

*LD2607143295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Slovak Education Minister Eva Slavkovska met her Hungarian counterpart on 24 July to talk about, among other things, the concept of alternative education. After this meeting the two ministers held a news conference, whose conclusions were contradictory.

The Hungarian minister, according to numerous Slovak and Hungarian dailies, welcomed the fact that our ministry postponed the introduction of alternative education. Minister Slavkovska, however, denied this report because she did not say anything of the sort, and they did not agree about it. [passage omitted]

Michal Tvarozek asked Eva Slavkovska where this misunderstanding could have originated.

[Begin recording] [Slavkovska] It may have originated in translation, where notions were incorrectly interpreted. But this was explained at a news conference that was attended by the Hungarian minister of education. I said unequivocally yet again that we did not sweep the idea of alternative education off the table, that we would continue with cultural work in order to win over some parents, and that the Hungarian minister of education and culture accepted it, saying that this was indeed so,

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that this September it would probably not be introduced in basic schools because of the lack of interest. But the concept would remain, and we might be able to win over more people who would be interested in the next academic year.

[Tvarozek] How would you explain the 21-percent drop in interest by parents? It will probably be less this year, although the research has not been completed.

[Slavkovska] I am convinced that this is because the entire problem, on the part of political representatives of the Hungarian parties in Slovakia, has been transferred from the expert level to the political level, which is indeed to the detriment of the matter. We have confirmed reports to the effect that political representatives of the Hungarian parties were visiting parents, trying to persuade them not to agree with the idea of alternative education because that would lead toward assimilation of the Hungarian nationality in Slovakia, and they were giving as an example that this was how the Slovak nationality in Hungary was assimilated.

[Tvarozek] Why are you considering, according to the results of this research, that alternative schools may be opened in some districts and in some towns according to the interest of these people? Where is the borderline as to where a class may or may not be opened?

[Slavkovska] In basic and secondary schools it is a question of eight pupils. If they enroll in one school, we will create conditions for them. We proposed this to the parents, and they have the possibility of expressing their views as to what subjects they would like their children to be taught in Slovak.

[Tvarozek] I assume that the concept of alternative education is not the only guide to improve teaching of the Slovak language on mixed territories. Are you considering other alternatives?

[Slavkovska] We tried to confront our views with the Hungarian teachers, and we tried to arrange for talks between the Slovak Ministry of Education and the Union of Hungarian Pedagogues. The Council for Nationalities, which is a government advisory body, has passed a resolution saying that the representatives of the Union of Hungarian Pedagogues will contact our Ministry by 15 July. Unfortunately, it is the end of July and we have not heard from them, so it appears that they are not interested in solving these problems. [end recording]

**Ministry Reports on Ethnic Cultural Problems**

*LD2607125595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak Ministry of Culture has prepared a situation report on the cultural life in southern Slovakia. Ildiko Nagy reports:

[Nagy] At its session yesterday, the government adopted the ministry's report on the situation of regional and nationality culture. According to the report, the majority of staff of cultural institutions in mixed-population areas of the country are of Hungarian nationality. As a result, the spread of Slovak culture is impeded.

This situation also develops in areas where a large proportion of the local government representatives are ethnic Hungarians and where they control the local culture centers and libraries. These institutions receive support from the villages that are several times greater than state subsidies, the report says. The document also points out that this process will lead either to the assimilation of Slovaks or to their being forced to emigrate to environments of a stronger Slovak linguistic and cultural character.

According to the ministry's proposal, the situation could be changed by granting greater sums to Slovak cultural institutions in the mixed-population areas. The report also stresses that those parts of the nationality press that report on politics, such as the Hungarian-language weekly NAP and the Hungarian-language daily UJ SZO, must not expect state subsidies. So, this year only, five Hungarian journals—a youth magazine, a scout magazine, two literary journals, and a sports gazette—will receive a total of 4.5 million korunas [Sk] from the ministry's budget.

As a matter of comparison, the progovernment SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA and another daily receive Sk27 million for publishing their biweekly nationality supplement, which is, usually, the Hungarian translation of the abridgment of some kind of international or official Slovak document.

**Meciar, Romanians Eager To Intensify Relations**

*LD2607133795 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, who today, at the head of the government delegation, began a two-day official visit to Romania, had talks with Adrian Nastase, president of the Chamber of Deputies. After the meeting, the Slovak prime minister said that both sides agreed that it was crucial to intensify relations between parliaments and nongovernmental organizations. He said that Slovakia would push for a

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meeting of nongovernmental organizations and various experts' groups.

Vladimir Meciar and Adrian Nastase also discussed the issue of national minorities. The Slovak side praised Romania's attitude toward the Slovaks living in Romania.

**Progress in Dismantling Military Equipment**

*LD2607161895 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] We now present reports by our regional correspondents. Here is Peter Toman, reporting from Trencin [western Slovakia]:

[Toman] Since 3 May, in the third and final phase of the liquidation of surplus military equipment, workers from the local Vojensky Opravarensky Podnik [Military Repair Company] have scrapped 45 tanks of the T-54 AM type.

An international inspection team, this time dominated by Canadian military experts, was checking today that the technical procedure employed during the liquidation was correct. Canadian military experts, who are cooperating with our specialists from the Slovak Army Verification Center, will also check that the final batch of surplus military equipment, which has been earmarked for liquidation in keeping with the Vienna disarmament talks, is ready to be scrapped. This concerns 60 T-54 AM tanks and 20 tanks of the T-55A type. Another five tanks will be modified to serve for ground observation purposes in keeping with the requirements of the Slovak Army General Staff.

The entire process of liquidation is due to end in Vojensky Opravarensky Podnik on 18 October. This means that the company's final liquidation balance will be 728 armored transporters and 160 tanks.

**Julius Toth on New Arms Holding Company**

*AU2607163095 Bratislava SME in Slovak 25 Jul 95 p 1*

[Report by "(b)": "Julius Toth on the State Holding Company To Manufacture Arms"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kosice—Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar held talks in Trencin and Dubnica nad Vahom last week on founding a state holding company to manufacture arms. The company should be based in Trencin and should begin operations in September. Julius Toth, former finance minister and currently chairman of the Priemyselna banka Board, has been entrusted with the organizational preparations for the state holding company. According to J. Toth, the holding structure is not final. He told us that there should be two types of enterprises in the holding. They should be the holding members and the enterprises that will cooperate with them in producing arms. At the moment, our legislation does not recognize holding, so the company will be run as a holding type of shareholding company.

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**Horn Interviewed on EU, Bosnia, Chechnya**

*BR2507134095 Madrid ABC in Spanish 25 Jul 95 p 32*

[Interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn by Cristina Lopez Schlichting in Madrid; date not given: "Horn: Major Theories Are Important, but Concrete Solutions are More Important"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Intelligent and pragmatic, Gyula Horn, a trained mechanic who has been prime minister of Hungary since July 1994, is concerned first and foremost about how to resolve the economic crisis in his country and how to lift it to the level required for membership of the European Union. A wholly orthodox career with the Communist Party saw him accede to the Central Committee in 1985. He was foreign minister in 1989, a year that is celebrated today by tens of thousands of Germans since that was when Gyula Horn defied Berlin and Moscow and opened up the Austrian border to East German refugees. A modest and rather shy man, he shuns journalists and we first had to agree on the number of minutes the interview would last—we finally spent 20, very pleasant minutes.*

*Horn heads a coalition of socialists who managed to reconvert Hungary's open-style communism into European social democracy and liberals from the Union of Free Democrats. Together these parties polled 72 percent of votes at the election that saw the spectacular defeat of the old conservative government, the Democratic Forum.*

[Schlichting] You have started along the road to EU membership. What date does the prime minister propose for this?

[Horn] For the time being I can only say that it could be around 2000 and I hope that is not too optimistic a forecast. Of course I know that there are disagreements and debates in the EU and that domestic problems—unemployment, agricultural concerns, and financial restrictions—are real obstacles, but you also have to take into account our own efforts to try to become part of the EU. I can therefore say without exaggeration that we are in the vanguard of associate countries. We have implemented many measures. There is currently a five-year plan to bring our legal system into line with the EU, and we have published a paper in which we set out our plans for harmonization with the EU which come down, in fact, to an accession program. Finally, I do believe that Hungary comes very close to meeting EU membership requirements.

[Schlichting] Hungary is a typical example of a country that has returned to a socialist ideology. How do you interpret this change?

[Horn] It is not a return. The people were disillusioned with the old government and they had every reason to be. This was because, throughout the whole process of transformation, the government hit the people very hard. It opened up new paths but failed to solve the old problems. We will not manage to solve everything, since in any country of central Europe it is very hard to deal with crisis and transition. We have tremendously complex tasks and difficulties ahead of us, essentially on the economic and social levels. Any government that had come to power in 1994 would have had to apply a series of unpopular measures and we were no exception, even if these measures were not in line with the actions of the traditional Left. For example, the imposition of social contributions that had the effect of cutting the real wage, or the need to tackle the conflict between society and government through the rare jobs that could be created. All of this may look more like the term of government of a conservative party, but even in West Europe there have been a number of left-wing governments that have had to implement measures of this kind.

[Schlichting] Since you were unable to obtain the absolute majority you needed to govern, you preferred to form an alliance with the liberals. How has the coalition gone so far?

[Horn] We have had our ups and downs. Even when we were drawing up the terms of our coalition we had to agree to compromises which can be seen in the governmental agreement and which were the first source of problems. Later we had a number of disagreements that were of no importance to the public, even though I always thought that they should have been made public. We socialists are very pragmatic and while major theories are important, concrete solutions to concrete problems are more important. That was the main source of our disagreements.

[Schlichting] Hungary is in a privileged position to observe the Balkan conflict. What do you think about the conclusions of the recent conference in London?

[Horn] It did not come up with many new ideas. The result was more or less expected since, in reality, the international community does not know what to do and it is very hard to take any effective measures. In any event, it is clear that the peacekeeping forces should not pull out because that could lead to a disaster affecting hundreds of thousands of people. Anyway, how can you stop military offensives? In my opinion the most important thing is to try to arrive at a negotiated settlement.

[Schlichting] So do you rule out military action?

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[Horn] The main question is whether NATO would be prepared to act militarily. That would mean deploying thousands of troops, tens of thousands even, and which NATO country could supply that many men? Any government that tried would be given a rough ride at home.

[Schlichting] The alternative is to lift the arms embargo.

[Horn] I do not think that much would be gained from a unilateral lifting of the embargo simply in favor of the Bosnians. It would have no effect.

[Schlichting] The Islamic countries have said that they will violate the terms of the arms embargo. Would that not encourage the development of Islamic fundamentalism in Europe precisely because of the very passiveness of Europe?

[Horn] Yes, that is very probable.

[Schlichting] Do you think that war will break out again in Croatia?

[Horn] Since 1 May, international negotiators have been doing their utmost to prevent a fresh outbreak of fighting between Serbs and Croats, but it is still an imminent danger. It is essential that there be no military operations in Croatia because that could have even more serious and disastrous consequences than the war in Bosnia and would directly endanger neighboring countries. Potentially, though, there is a danger of this war breaking out.

[Schlichting] As a country very interested in the EU and, therefore, in the Spanish presidency, to what extent do you think you could be affected by turbulent domestic affairs [in Spain]?

[Horn] I think that no serious political force can fail to take into account the fact that Spain is currently presiding the EU. In my opinion, the presidency is a national cause since Spain has extremely important tasks to perform, such as the preparations for the Intergovernmental Conference of 1996 and the need to decide on hugely important issues such as Community decisionmaking and the nature of the single currency. I do not want to meddle in domestic policy but, in cases like this, you have to forget all about the differences between the political parties for the greater good of the nation.

[Schlichting] As president of the OSCE, Hungary played a key role with regard to Chechnya. Could you tell us whether an agreement really has been concluded with Russia on the future "status" of the republic?

[Horn] It is looking very encouraging. It is possible that elections will be held this year. Chechnya could obtain a degree of autonomy along the same lines as that enjoyed by Tatarstan. It is not a question of separatism but of autonomy within the Russian Federation.

### Foreign Ministry Hails NATO Decision on Bosnia

*LD2607170895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry welcomes the decision of NATO ambassadors, according to which the Bosnian Serbs can expect serious air attacks if they continue to attack protected zones. Spokesman Gabor Szentivanyi told the commercial television TV-3, that in his view, by this decision the withdrawal of UN peacekeepers from Bosnia has been taken off the agenda, or at least postponed. With this step, the security of the region, including Hungary, can improve significantly, Szentivanyi said.

### MSZP Committee Supports Stabilization Program

*AU2607155895 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 26 Jul 95 p 5*

[Article by Varju: "According to the Minister, Growth Can Be Expected Next Year—the MSZP's Executive Committee Pledged Itself to Stabilization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The executive committee of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] urges Finance Minister Lajos Bokros and the government to continue to work on establishing economic stabilization. This was announced in the presence of the finance minister at a news conference held after the three and a half hour executive committee session at the MSZP's headquarters on 25 July. From the seemingly merry and light-spirited news conference, it was not possible to determine the real reasons why the consultation had lasted much longer than originally planned.

The MSZP executive committee's session, which followed the stormy meeting of the parliamentary group the day before, managed to dampen the expectations that at least those leading personalities who are on the left of the party would manage to torpedo the finance minister's strict economic concept. As Deputy Chairman Laszlo Mate told journalists, the executive committee actually urges Bokros to continue on the same road, until complete economic stabilization is achieved. In fact, the committee also warned that certain lobbies and interest groups have already appeared on the scene, and only consistent and persistent work can be successful against these. As Mate said, these "professional" groups are lining up behind certain ministers; however, the government has to work for the country's interests in one unit and in unity rather than in groups.

Talking about the issues of the meeting, Mate said that, in addition to the guidelines for amending the

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1996 tax system, they talked about the reform of state administration, the 1995 economic reforms, and about the effects of the economic stabilization measures and the decision of the Constitutional Court. Mate considered it important to mention as a new element that, in addition to stabilization, they also talked about the possibilities of progress. As he said, it can already be seen that export orientation has priority in this process, however, to achieve this, stabilization has to be successfully implemented.

Talking about the executive committee session (from which Prime Minister Gyula Horn was missing due to "other important official engagements," but where Zoltan Gal, chairman of parliament who had suffered an accident a week ago, was present), Bokros said with satisfaction: He is happy that the committee pledged itself in favor of stabilization. He called this stance important in the circumstances when "the struggle is getting more bitter," and no kind of weakness can be allowed because, next year, growth can play the major role. He reassured those who believed the details of the stabilization program to be already decided by saying that the MSZP deputies had only been given excerpts of the reform concept; therefore, nothing is final yet. At the end of August, the whole documentation will be made fully public.

In reply to questions, Bokros tried to explain the idea to reduce the local governments' share of the taxes from 35 to 15 percent by saying that, as the market economy increases the territorial inequalities, the state has two ways of intervening in the negative processes. It either launches major state investments or it tries to influence the expected tendencies through the support given to local governments.

**Editorial Views Positive Signs in Slovak Attitude**

*AU2607174395 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Jul 95 p 7*

[Editorial by Ivan Scipiades: "Living Basic Treaty"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although Slovakia has not yet ratified it, the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty has in practice come into force. Its principle, according to which the Hungarian Government has a say in whether Slovakia observes the rights of the Hungarian minority, is being applied in practice. This was expressed by the fact that, at the beginning of the month, Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar held talks on the Slovak draft language bill, which would ban the use of the Hungarian language in certain cases, and on the plan of alternative education, according to which some subjects would be taught in Slovak in Slovakia's Hungarian-language schools. The fact that Bratislava was willing to have prime ministerial and then ministerial dialogue with Hungary on the Slovak education system, rather than alluding that this is its internal affair, has in itself to be very much appreciated. It is also positive that Meciar's government has, for the time being, abandoned introducing the alternative education. Until Slovakia ratifies the basic treaty, the Bratislava coalition has put aside trying to have such laws passed which would cancel out the basic treaty. This is something impossible because an international agreement is always stronger than a domestic law. This case also proves how thin the argument of the Hungarians opposed to the basic treaty was, who said that the treaty is bad because the Slovaks would adopt laws that contradict it.

It is also a promising fact that Bratislava is pressing to improve the mother-tongue education of Slovaks living in Hungary. Not so long ago, a Slovak politician came up with an absurd interpretation of mutuality, saying that Budapest should also feel free to apply alternative education.

It is also significant for Hungary that, yet again, Slovakia has acted differently from Romania in an issue affecting the Hungarians beyond the border.

However, while Bratislava is willing to discuss the Hungarian minority with Budapest, it is not willing to do the same with its Hungarians. It is up to the Hungarians in Slovakia to have this situation changed.

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**Mazowiecki Resigns in Protest Against 'Inaction'**

*AU2707103595 Paris AFP in English 1014 GMT 27 Jul 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, July 27 (AFP)—UN special rapporteur for human rights in the former Yugoslavia Tadeusz Mazowiecki said Thursday [27 July] that he was resigning in protest at world inaction over the fall of the Moslem enclaves of Srebrenica and Zepa to the Bosnian Serbs.

He told a press conference here that he had sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and to the UN High Commissioner for human rights explaining that due to the current situation in Bosnia, "I cannot continue to participate in the pretence of the protection of human rights," the former Polish premier said.

He said the fall of the UN-protected enclaves "constitute a turning point in the development of the situation in Bosnia."

"One cannot speak about the protection of human rights with credibility when one is confronted with the lack of consistency and courage displayed by the international community and its leaders."

"Human rights violations continue blatantly" and "the response of the international community has been slow and ineffectual," he said.

"The very stability of international order and the principle of civilization is at stake over the question of Bosnia," he declared.

Earlier this week Mazowiecki said he had "precise information" on "horrible crimes" committed by Bosnian Serbs.

Speaking in Rome on Monday on a stopover on his way to Brussels, he said he had received "precise information and eyewitness accounts showing that in Srebrenica the Serbs committed acts of barbarism and horrible crimes."

"It is difficult to describe the dimension of what has happened," he added.

He said that during the conquest of the Moslem enclave "very serious human rights violations were committed."

"I spoke with dozens of refugees from this martyred city. They told me that up to 7,000 people were taken away on buses by the Serbs into woods surrounding the town and nobody knows what has become of the vast majority of them."

Maziowiecki was prime minister of Poland in 1989-90.

**Tribunal Spokesman on Karadzic, Mladic Warrants**

*BR2607132195 Hilversum Nederland-3 Television Network in Dutch 2034 GMT 25 Jul 95*

[From the "Nova" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Anchorman] Something took place in The Hague today that might seriously influence the [Bosnian] war's course. The prosecutors of the UN Tribunal announced, four months earlier than expected, that the two Serbian top leaders, Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic, have been formally charged. The men who are supposed to negotiate peace have now been charged with war crimes.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] [Passage omitted] The question now is what evidence the Tribunal will produce when Karadzic and Mladic eventually end up in the dock.

[Chartier, identified by screen caption as The Hague Tribunal spokesman] At this moment I cannot say anything about this, but you have to assume that the prosecutor has given careful thought to his decision and that it is based on sufficient evidence.

[Reporter] Does this evidence come from witnesses?

[Chartier] Yes, and there also are documents, videotapes, film.

[Reporter] [passage omitted] The Tribunal did not only formally charge Karadzic and Mladic, it also requested the help of the former Yugoslav authorities to track them down.

[Chartier] We have sent arrest warrants to Pale, Sarajevo, and Belgrade, and Interpol also has been informed and alerted. So this means that, as of today, the suspects can be arrested wherever they are.

[Reporter] So, if they go to Geneva for possible peace talks, they can be arrested there?

[Chartier] Yes.

[Reporter] But you do not expect them to be arrested in Pale, Belgrade, or Sarajevo, do you?

[Chartier] The Tribunal is not supposed to expect anything; it has to make decisions, and that is what it did. But you have to remain realistic. It probably will not happen today, neither tomorrow, nor even next week, but who knows what will be the actual situation of the suspects, or even of these countries, within 10 weeks or so? Nobody knows.

[Reporter] [passage omitted] The charge against Karadzic may have significant consequences for the Bosnian Serb leader.

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[Chartier] First, he is being stigmatized as an internationally wanted person. A sort of international pariah. This is quite something for a politician. Second, his freedom of movement is completely restricted. His home country will become a sort of open-air prison. Third, he will no longer be able to perform his duties: He is expected to participate in international negotiations; he may have to submit requests for credits, etc. This is no longer possible and his position as a politician is no longer tenable.

[Reporter] The Tribunal does not think that today's decision will influence the peace process in the former Yugoslavia.

[Chartier] This will not necessarily have an impact on the negotiations, at least not from the Tribunal's point of view. The Tribunal does not have anything to do with this, at least not directly. The Tribunal has a juridical mandate, and that is what it is carrying out. It is not up to us to evaluate possible consequences.

[Reporter] Is this not somewhat reminiscent of ostrich policies? Because of these arrest warrants, Karadzic probably will not go to Geneva.

[Chartier] This has nothing to do with ostrich policies. We are doing our job. Why should we be afraid to do our job?

[Reporter] But it could be a consequence of your work.

[Chartier] No, it could be a consequence of the Tribunal's installation.

[Reporter] [passage omitted] You have indicted 46 persons. Only Tadic is being held prisoner here. To what extent are your arrest warrants no more than paper tigers?

[Chartier] First, they always will be paper documents, but they are valid indefinitely. This means that if one of the suspects shows up somewhere outside Bosnia or Serbia within a few weeks or months, he can be arrested. So they are sleeping tigers which may eventually bite. [end recording]

### RSK Rejects Tribunal Competency

*LD2607200795 Belgrade FONET in Serbo-Croatian 1911 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 26 Jul (FONET)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Assembly of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, told FONET tonight that the Serb Republic [RS] and the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] do not recognize the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague as being in charge of war crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia.

"This tribunal has no right to put a people on trial, nor does it have any moral justification. Besides, the Serb people are not the aggressor but a people who fight for freedom and its own state," Krajisnik said in reply to the decision of the prosecutor of the Hague Tribunal to indict Ratko Mladic, Radovan Karadzic, and Milan Martic.

"What is important here, that is the view of the RS, is the fact that Mr. Karadzic, Mr. Martic, and Mr. Mladic personify the RS and the RSK, so this is in fact a trial of the entire Serb people."

"We do not recognize this court nor do we pay much attention to this problem, nor are we worried by their accusations," Krajisnik added.

"It would be better to bring charges against all those who have committed crimes since the Vietnam war, since World War II, and up until today and especially in this war. Why are charges not brought against those who caused the breakup of Yugoslavia, who perpetrated genocide against the Serb people in western Slavonia? Why are charges not brought against Mr. Tudjman, Mr. Izetbegovic, and the others? After all, they, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, recognize this court.

"We believe that an attempt is being made, in this way, in the form of political pressure, to perpetrate a great injustice against the Serb people," Krajisnik assessed.

"This is a torpedoing of the peace process because no one has the right to put two people, the president of the republic and the commander of the Serb Republic Army, on trial. It is clear that the desire is thus to torpedo the peace process, blame one people, and prevent the resumption of the negotiations on the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"We simply will not allow ourselves to be dictated to, and we will not allow anyone to look for someone to represent the RS and the RSK, nor will we allow anyone to find for us 'suitable' Serbs, who could fulfill the conditions of these power brokers.

"The RS is represented by Mr. Karadzic, and the RSK by Mr. Martic, for as long as the people give them this authority and for as long as they are presidents," Krajisnik concluded.

### Silajdzic Welcomes U.S. Senate Vote on Arms

*AU2707074195 Paris AFP in English 2116 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 26 (AFP)—Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said Wednesday's U.S. Senate vote calling for a unilateral lifting of

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the arms embargo against his government was "a big victory for principles and justice."

"The senators did the right thing and that is to reject the policy of appeasement, the policy of cover-up and genocide. It is a big victory for principles and justice and the turning point," Silajdzic told AFP.

The Bosnian Government has laboured under a UN arms embargo imposed in 1991 against all former Yugoslav republics while fighting secessionist Bosnian Serb forces who are better armed.

The Serbs inherited the weaponry and infrastructure of the former Yugoslav People's Army and carved out a mono-ethnic self-declared state covering some 70 percent of Bosnian territory since fighting erupted in 1992.

Numerous calls by the Bosnian Government to lift the embargo have gone unheeded by the major powers who argue such a move would inevitably lead to a wider Balkans war. Nations contributing troops to the UN Protection Force in Bosnia, principally France and Britain, say they will withdraw the soldiers if the embargo is lifted.

"If they insist on leaving, there is not much we can do," Silajdzic said. However, he said he was confident that the Senate vote would be followed by a similar expression of support from the House of Representatives which must back the legislation if it is to be sent to President Bill Clinton.

Silajdzic also said that "in his heart Bill Clinton is at one with this decision." Official White House policy is that lifting the arms embargo would undermine the goal of keeping U.S. ground troops out of Bosnia. Clinton has pledged troops only to help UN peacekeepers withdraw.

"The arms embargo only brought death and rape. Lifting the arms embargo will bring peace because only the balance of military power will bring lasting peace," he said.

Bosnia has faced many difficulties with its Croatian neighbour over getting supplies of heavy weaponry, an area where it is outmatched by the Bosnian Serb forces.

Croatia is also under a UN arms embargo but nevertheless has managed to strengthen and rearm its military forces without too many problems. Zagreb has been generally unwilling for landlocked Bosnia which lies alongside its own borders to get its hands on the same sophisticated armoury.

But Silajdzic said these problems had passed. "They know perfectly well that we are alone in one boat. The (Serb) regime in Belgrade is expanding its territory at the expense of Bosnia and Croatia," he said.

**Claims Serbs Got 'Green Light'**

*AU2607200295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] On the occasion of the very grave security and humanitarian situation in the safe havens of Zepa and Bihac, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic held a news conference in Sarajevo today. The news conference was attended by Minister Hasan Muratovic, Deputy Health Minister Ibrahim Vranic, and Nudzeim Respica and Haris Basic, assistant ministers for refugees and social policy.

Here is how the Bosnia-Herzegovina prime minister briefly commented on the situation in the Bihac Region:

[Begin Silajdzic recording] We want to attract the world's attention to the [word indistinct] on Bihac. It seems that the attack on this protected and demilitarized zone, when [word indistinct] is concerned, is being carried out in a media silence.

The attacks are being launched from all artillery pieces. In infantry assaults, 25,000 [word indistinct] terrorists have taken part in this attack on Bihac.

We are asking ourselves now why Bihac was not mentioned in London. Was the London conference in fact a green light for an attack on Bihac? That what is happening in the field confirms this assumption. At this moment, Serb terrorists are attacking from Croatia, from the direction of (Hazilovci), Zeljava, (Klokot), and (Izvor Klokot). Serb terrorists from Bosnia have been attacking from (Lipac) and (Hrg). Unfortunately, today, I learned from an UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] spokesman at the news conference that there are no attacks. If that is true, the safe haven of Bihac has not been attacked. There is no reason to call NATO in.

At the same time, this same man spoke about 8,000 refugees because of attacks. If there are no attacks on Bihac, why are 8,000 refugees fleeing toward the center of Bihac?

If there is no attack, why did the Bangladeshi battalion demand NATO air strikes?

Why has UNPROFOR been minimizing attacks on Bihac? I repeat: The UNPROFOR spokesman said today that the Bihac safe haven has not been attacked. This is no other way to interpret that but as a big green light for the Serb terrorists to attack Bihac. [end recording].

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**Government Session Reviews Humanitarian Situation**

*AU2607165895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] On the occasion of the grave situation in the safe heavens of (?Zepa) and Bihac, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic convened an extraordinary session of the government that discussed [word indistinct] refugees from Zepa and the (?harsh) humanitarian situation in this town and in Bihac. Here is a report by Samir Huseinovic:

[Huseinovic] Minister Hasan Muratovic reported on the situation in Zepa and the position of the [word indistinct] population. There was no evacuation from Zepa this morning, although preparations for carrying out the [word indistinct] operation are underway. The Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina demanded greater security for [word indistinct] population during the evacuation, so UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] tried to enhance its teams, but the aggressor's forces do not (?allow) that. What can happen is a repeat of what occurred in Srebrenica, that is, the first convoy was allowed to pass through, but the people were begun to be [word indistinct] from the next ones [words indistinct]. UNPROFOR (?units) that should ensure better security for the refugees will be allowed into the Zepa region.

The Ministry for Refugees (?has reported) that [words indistinct] humanitarian situation, in the 26 June to 23 July period, only 56,000 kg of food [words indistinct], for 15,000 citizens, that is, 133 grams per person. The Zenica District Refugee Center [words indistinct] sufficient quantities of food.

Speaking about the grave situation in Bihac, Prime Minister Silajdzic pointed out that enemy attacks in the direction of Pecigrad have been particularly intensive, as it is there that strong aggressor's forces have been concentrated.

[words indistinct] Prime Minister Silajdzic stressed, that the Split agreement should come to the fore at this moment, so that the units of the Croatian Defense Council and the Croatian Army could be directly involved in military operations.

The shortage of flour, salt, sugar, and edible oil, as well as [words indistinct] it is a crushing fact that two convoys carrying humanitarian aid (?stopped) at Licko Petrovo Selo [words indistinct] Serb aggressor.

The Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina will do everything in its power to help the citizens of both Zepa and Bihac.

**Assembly To Reconsider Contact Group Plan**

*AU2707114595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 27 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Miro Lazovic, chairman of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has called a meeting tomorrow of the chairmen of the deputy caucuses in the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, representatives of the parliamentary parties, and members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly Committee for Foreign Relations.

In view of the increasingly frequent statements by members of the Contact Group countries on new plans for the territorial and constitutional organization of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, preliminary talks should be held at the meeting on the approach to the accepted Contact Group plan and the need for its reconsideration by the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, reads a statement by the office of the Assembly chairman of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

**General: War Will Last 'Two or Three Years'**

*BR2607131495 Rome IL MESSAGERO in Italian 26 Jul 95 p 2*

[Interview with General Jovan Divjak by Valerio Pellizzari in Sarajevo; date not given: "Goradze Will Hold Out, Take a General's Word for It"]

[FBIS Translated Text] General Jovan Divjak is a Serb, born in Belgrade, where he trained for war. He might well have shared the nationalistic dreams and bloodthirsty strategy of General Mladic, on the other side of the mountain, but he has not left Sarajevo since 1966. When war broke out, he sided with the Bosnians, in the front line with his troops. He is currently one of the three generals assisting Delic, the commander in chief.

[Pellizzari] So the Serbs are winning on various fronts?

[Divjak] The fall of Zepa has been announced every day for the last two weeks. Nothing changes for us there, but the Serbs will never enter Bihac, Gorazde, and Sarajevo. Of course, they have an enormous arsenal, they can cause heavy losses, but they cannot take these three cities. It is one of the few certainties in this war.

[Pellizzari] Does the fact that the Mount Igman road is being defended by the British and French change anything?

[Divjak] That is another decision that has no bearing on our positions. It is a road that runs behind our territory. Defending it was not all that important. Anyway, it is

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of use only to them, to the Blue Helmets, to protect their men and their convoys, not the trucks and buses carrying Bosnians. It would have meant much more if the West had decided to protect the Ilica-Tarcin road, a real, tarmac road that is passable in winter as well.

[Pellizzari] The Serbs have started launching modified air attacks against Sarajevo.

[Divjak] No, they have used them ever since the outset. They are 250-kg bombs designed to be dropped by aircraft, but as they cannot use the air force, they use three rockets joined together to launch them. It is a very primitive and inaccurate method, a bit like catapults in the Middle Ages. Sometimes the bombs fall back down on top of them.

[Pellizzari] What effect do they have?

[Divjak] That the death toll in the last two months is the same as the figure for the whole of 1994. A 600-percent rise.

[Pellizzari] Is your alliance with the Croatian Army, with the joint command at Kiseljak, working?

[Divjak] The command is in place, but the Croats want the two armies to remain separate. They are helping us a bit with their artillery, but that is all. The two military structures are still very different. Our soldiers have been promised a new rate of pay equivalent to 150 German marks [DM] a month beginning in August. Croatian soldiers are already earning DM600, and officers DM2,000.

[Pellizzari] There is this theory that the Yugoslav Army had made preparations for war well in advance.

[Divjak] I think I am well acquainted with the officers who were at war school with me in Belgrade. I do not agree. It all began a few years ago, when the federation broke up, and as there were two levels of defense, territorial and national, the order for the territorial militia to hand their weapons in to the Army depots came in May 1991.

[Pellizzari] You became famous for disobeying the order.

[Divjak] It was the fall of 1991. I saw the way things were going, so I gave orders for 100 or so light weapons to be handed over to the Kiseljak militia. I was sentenced to nine months in jail, although I never served them because the war broke out first.

[Pellizzari] Was disarming the territorial forces enough?

[Divjak] No, and in fact five new Army corps were transferred to Bosnia in January 1992. Previously there were only three. At that point the Serbs were ready.

[Pellizzari] You Bosnians had few men at the beginning.

[Divjak] We had nothing. Maybe 10,000 men with very few weapons. In three months we took 30 or so tanks and a few artillery guns from the barracks. By July, we had 60,000 troops, but 40 percent of them had no weapons.

[Pellizzari] And now?

[Divjak] We have the troops, and they are well trained, but artillery and tanks remain the problem. I have read reports that we have been helped by Turkey and other Islamic countries. If that were so, it would be plain to see. It is the story of the embargo imposed by the West, as you well know.

[Pellizzari] This room with pictures, books, and flowers hardly looks like a soldier's quarters.

[Divjak] You have happened on the office of a pacifist general.

[Pellizzari] What do you mean?

[Divjak] That some principles have to be respected in war as well. I insist on churches and architectural monuments not being destroyed. I insist on troops not being sent to the front line as cannon fodder. I will have to continue to insist on this for another two or three years. The war will not be over before then.

### Muslim-Croatian Military Alliance Discussed

*AU2607160995 Sarajevo BOSNJACKI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 95 p 7*

[Article by Adil Kapidzic: "Decisive Battles of the Patriotic War Are About To Begin: 'Muslims and Croats Are Going Together'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] To a certain extent overshadowed by the tragic events in eastern Bosnia and the so-called UN safehavens there, decisive steps forward, no less important for the defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina, are being made on another level. What is the whole thing about?

Although this has not been the case so far, or, better to say, not to this extent, the highest-ranking Croatian officials have very sharply and unambiguously reacted to the Serbian occupation of Srebrenica and the announcements that they would attack Zepa, Gorazde, and especially Bihac. Mr. Mate Granic, the Croatian foreign minister and a deputy prime minister in the Croatian Government, addressed two consecutive letters to the UN Security Council and the UN Secretary General in only two days, in which he warned them that Croatian authorities could not and did not want to remain indifferent to the new wave of aggression from Serbia and

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Montenegro against Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the same time, Mr. Mario Nobilo, the Croatian ambassador to the United Nations, uttered the same warning in the building on the East River.

**Frauds of the Customs Union**

What is behind the, for many people surprising, diplomatic response given by the western Bosnian neighbor? Is it only cheap collecting of points, or is this the announcement of firmer military and political relations between the two sovereign states, against which the aggression has been made from the same center?

If Tudjman's latest public addresses and the information issued by the Croatian National Defense and Security council are analyzed, the second assumption seems not only more realistic but also the only appropriate choice, for both Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

For some time now, seemingly shy ideas about a new community of southern Slavs have been spread from pro-Serbian lobbying centers in the United States, France, and Great Britain. To prevent the "strangers" (in other words Croats, Muslims, and Macedonians) from coming to terms with them, a loose form of a customs and economic union is being proposed to begin with.

The first one to publicly present this idea and inform the Contact Group about it was the French businessman of Serbian origin, Mr. Boris Vukovrat. NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA reported that a similar proposal in the form of a circular letter addressed to the presidents of the states that came into existence in the territory of the former Yugoslavia was sent by six highly regarded Harvard University professors.

The proposal was flatly refused by Croatia, whereas Muslims have not given their an answer yet, but this does not seem to be necessary at the moment. The Bosnian Army is certainly not fighting against the Serbian aggressor to live with him in a pro-Serbian community again some day. It is not necessary to point out that it is Slobodan Milosevic and his regime who stand behind these political, diplomatic, and military frauds and speculations.

**An Alliance Without Any Hesitation**

Bearing in mine this unfolding of events, the common sense (as President Tudjman would put it) imposes on both the Bosnian and the Croatian state to make an alliance without any hesitation and low calculations. There are enough fronts on which a joint defense is an imperative. The corridor along the Sava River is where military actions have been coordinated on a high level since the very beginning, and the local soldiers have stressed on numerous occasions so far that only the political decision is necessary to cut off this "Serbian artery."

The liberation of Sarajevo from the Serbian blockade is also in Croatia's interest, which has been confirmed by Mr. Zubak, the president of the Federation. Although the announced Croatian Defense Council support on this front is still not as comprehensive as expected and promised, it can be hoped that it will come to significant changes soon. The people who opposed military cooperation between Muslims and Croats in Kiseljak have been arrested, and the appointment of General Filip Filipovic as commander of the Joint Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council promises (at least according to his announcement made in public) that a federal army will be constituted soon.

The area that is of the biggest Croatian strategic interest, and because of which they are most ready to enter a conflict with the Serbian aggressor, is the Bihac region. The fall of this territory, which is controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, would not only put the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina at stake, but also Croatia would in that case lose every chance for the return of its occupied territories in the Knin Krajina.

On the other hand, Croatian logistic and any other help offered to General Dudakovic's units would consequently result in a strong activation of the Bosnian Army 5th Corps at the moment when the Croatian Army decides to liberate Knin.

**New Signatures by the Presidents**

If we add the process of the establishment of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to all the things mentioned above, there is another reason for optimism. To what extent the new situation in eastern Bosnia could affect the obvious progress in the Croatian-Bosnian relations both in the Federation and between the two states is the question presently being commented on only in Western media.

British "well-informed sources" have already spread the story that Bosnian Croats are afraid the refugees from Srebrenica might settle down in central Bosnia, which could "cause new conflicts between the Muslims and Croats there." If this British concoction was believed by some Croats two years ago, the chances that such a thing is believed this time are not big nor does anybody feel like repeating the same thing this time.

To reduce tentative fears, the Bosnian authorities have decided to accommodate the newly arrived refugees in the territory of Tuzla and Podrinje canton and in predominantly Muslim places.

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Efforts are made on both sides to prevent focal points of possible new misunderstanding. This is the lesson that had to be and has been learned during the last three years of war. Now, when Serbia and its Army is again getting more and more openly involved in the war and aggression, it is necessary that Croats and Muslims close ranks, because only in this way the Serbian aggression, which is, according to some sources, given only two more months by its Western mentors to satisfy its expansion appetites in Bosnia, can be defeated.

Presidents Izetbegovic and Tudjman had signed an agreement on military cooperation before, but the fascination of the latter by Belgrade has, so far at least, been stronger.

Their announced and then canceled (out of objective reasons) new meeting is commented on by both the Croatian and the Bosnian press as a sign that Sarajevo and Zagreb are drawing closer again. Better cooperation on the battlefield has already started and this is encouraging. The fact that the presidents signed the already visible military cooperation on the fronts can only speed up the liberation of the country (whenever this happens).

**[Box, p 7]**

**What Is Tudjman Offering?**

According to the London Institute for Strategic Studies in its "Military Equilibrium" in 1994-95: The Croatian Army has 105,000 members. The reserves include a further 180,000 members. The Army consists of maneuvering brigades (guard units) and home guard units. It is organized into 26 infantry, five mechanized, and one antiaircraft units, and one special purpose brigade. The weapons of the Croatian Army include 175 tanks (mostly T-55 and M-84), more than 200 armored transporters, about 900 artillery weapons, ground-to-ground missiles. Its Air Force includes approximately 20 supersonic fighters and fighter-bombers.

**French General on RRF's 'Dissuasive Role'**

*BR2607132395 Paris LE MONDE in French 26 Jul 95 p 2*

[Report on interview with Andre Soubirou, "Aquila" Brigade commander general, by Jean-Yves Lhomeau in Tomislavgrad on 24 July: "For General Soubirou, the Forces Deployed on Mount Igman Are Playing 'a Dissuasive Role'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Bearing in mind the objective of the mission entrusted to us, what we have done is sufficient. For the time being there is no question of going to Sarajevo," General Andre Soubirou, commander of the multinational "Aquila" brigade, told us on 24 July. The brigade's two battalions, one French and one British, are deployed on the slopes and ridges of Mount Igman which overlooks the Bosnian capital. "We are playing a dissuasive role," he stressed. The aim of the operation, General Soubirou said, was to dissuade the Serbs from bombarding the slopes of Mount Igman used by convoys carrying humanitarian aid and thereby enabling "Sarajevo to be opened up." However, he did concede that it was not a real opening up, the airport is still closed and the Mount Igman road is bad, but rather a case of "drip-feeding the city." "Sarajevo is on a drip. This will make it possible to save the sick. We are there to ensure that the drip is not disconnected."

**Question of Resources**

Nonetheless, he noted that the Serbs, who had closed a checkpoint called "Sierra One" on the road which enables humanitarian convoys to reach the Bosnian capital, have just reopened it. On the other hand, he denies the news claiming that for a while the French battalion belonging to the multinational brigade was prevented from making progress by the Bosnians. "That is not true," he said. "We blocked the French troops ourselves so as to enable the British guns to go first. I gave them priority."

General Soubirou confirmed that the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] could not recapture the enclave of Srebrenica from the Serbs because, when it fell, the RRF was not yet operational. The RRF, he noted, "comprises primarily a (British—LE MONDE editor's note) airborne brigade which is still not there." He then added: "As soon as we are given the resources, we can go to Gorazde (the enclave located 70 km to the East of Sarajevo currently threatened by the Serbs—LE MONDE editor's note). I have already said so, and I will stick to that statement. At the London Conference the proposal of dropping 1,000 men into Gorazde provided that the heavy air force equipment required for that task was made available was not approved."

When asked about the operation on Mount Igman, of which he is "proud," General Soubirou said: "I do not know whether that will change anything." Finally, he confirmed that he has not "been assigned to prepare for any withdrawal" on the part of the Blue Helmets. "By withdrawing we would be plunged deeper into the horror. That could be the ultimate outcome of the conflict, but it is not for me to say."

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### Muslim Official Confirms Zepa Evacuation Complete

*LD2707090595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2243 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Zepa, 26 Jul (SRNA)—The evacuation of Muslim civilians and the wounded from Zepa was completed this evening. Those evacuated have been sent to Kladanj and the Muslim-controlled part of Sarajevo.

The entire operation lasted two days and was coordinated by the Serb Republic Army, UN Protection Force, International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC], and representatives of local Muslim authorities from Zepa. ICRC representatives registered the evacuated civilians whose number is around 5,000 according to first estimates.

Hamdija Torlak, representative of the local Muslim authorities in Zepa, expressed full satisfaction with the organization of the evacuation. "Everything took place in the best possible way and without any problems; I expect the entire operation, including complete disarmament, to be completed today," Torlak told SRNA.

He energetically denied reports by Izetbegovic's and some Western media that Muslim civilians in Zepa have been maltreated, saying that the Serb Army conducted itself correctly and adhered to the principles of international war and humanitarian laws. "I would like to repeat, the entire operation passed in the best possible way and [words indistinct]."

### Refugees Arrive in Kladanj

*AU2707085895 Paris AFP in English 0820 GMT 27 Jul 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 27 (AFP)—Hundreds more refugees from the Zepa enclave arrived in central Bosnia overnight after they were bused out of the area by Serb forces who took the UN safe area earlier this week, UN Protection Force officials announced Thursday.

Myriam Sochacki, a UN spokeswoman said that 900 refugees had reaced a frontline crossing point near Kladanj on a number of Serb buses in the early hours of Thursday.

The group is the second batch to be shipped out of the enclave which fell to Serb forces on Tuesday. Some 1,400 refugees reached central Bosnia Wednesday who were then tranferred to Zenica a large government-held industrial town in the centre of the country.

Sochacki said the situation in Zepa, where the town's defenders have fled into the hills was still "very unclear." No agreement however has been reached for the surrender of the men, she said.

Additional UN peacekeepers arrived in the town on Wednesday to bolster the UN presence while the removal of civilans from the enclave, believed to have a total population of some 12,000, is underway.

### Refugees Describe Evacuation

*AU2707075495 Paris AFP in English 0334 GMT 27 Jul 95*

[Report by Victoria Stegic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kladanj, Bosnia-Hercegovina, July 27 (AFP)—Crammed in 16 rickety buses, the first group of 800-odd refugees from Zepa, arrived in the government-held town of Kladanj Wednesday, saying the place was "heaven" compared to what they had been through in the fallen Moslem enclave.

"We have lost everything but here it's like heaven after the hell of Zepa," said Djenka Krestalica, a young woman aged 19. For her, as for Zula, 32, Azemir, 67, or Asim, 75 "leaving and getting on the bus to drive through Serb lines was a matter of survival."

They were so hungry they overcame their fear of the Serbs. Zula said that anyway she could not have gone on living with her two toddlers in a cave "like in the Middle Ages" sheltering from the Serb shelling.

"We had no choice," she said, talking to journalists during a stop at Kladanj along the road to central Bosnia.

Zula's new destination is Zenica, an industrial town in the centre of the country where she will stay for the time being at one of three overcrowded refugee centres organised in a school, cinema, and a gymnasium.

The refugees, exhausted by the heat and a night spent on uncomfortable buses guarded by Serb soldiers, were reluctant to talk to the press.

"Don't talk too much because there are many women, children, and old people still hiding in the mountains round Zepa," warned an elderly man. His advice cut short a chorus of voices about to recount the horrors of three years of life under siege.

Bosnian policemen then ordered away the journalists trying to interview the evacuees, most of whom were women and children though the director of Zepa hospital Dr. Nijaz Stitkovac was in the group.

Most of the refugees were anxious about what would happen to the government soldiers who had defended the enclave. Almira and Zula said they had heard about

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atrocities being committed against the Moslems after the fall of Srebrenica.

"We pray to Allah to see that our men are evacuated by helicopter," said Zula. Almira said she believed they would try to escape from Zepa using goat tracks through the hills, like those who escaped from Srebrenica.

The evacuation of Zepa appears to have involved little violence. But the same appeared to be true in Srebrenica two weeks ago before reports transpired that atrocities had been committed on a wide scale.

"It was because there had been an accord that the Serbs did not harm us," said Asim.

It was after learning that the Serbs had agreed to the evacuation that these people emerged Tuesday from the caves where they had been hiding since July 12 to board the buses.

The escort of members of the International Committee of the Red Cross apparently served to reassure them that they would be safe.

"When the Serbs seized the town yesterday, they cheered and sang. They treated us correctly," said one woman without anyone trying to contradict her.

The refugees left Zepa, probably for good, at 2100 (1900 GMT) Tuesday and at dawn Wednesday after walking for eight to ten kilometres to reach government-held "free" territory. They were welcomed by medical and aid personnel at Kladanj camp, the same camp as refugees from Srebrenica were taken to, 120 kilometres (75 miles) northeast of Sarajevo.

To get to Kladanj, the refugees had to go through a tunnel two kilometres (one miles) long. As they trudged the last few metres (yards) along the bomb-scarred road, the refugees wept.

Though they were hungry and scared, they seemed in better physical shape than the refugees from Srebrenica.

Another 4,200 civilians from Zepa are due to pass through the same cap in coming days.

### Serb Abuse, Robbery Reported

*AU2707101895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 27 Jul 95*

[Report by Muris Kreho from Kladanj]

[FBIS Translated Text] Overnight and this morning on 27 July 1995, the Chetniks have carried out two more transports of the Zepa population. About 2,300 women, children, and elderly people have been ferried in over 40 buses. According to confirmed reports, over 1,000 people are waiting in Zepa for the next transport, but it is uncertain when it will take place.

Most of the expelled people that arrived in Kladanj overnight have been transferred in 13 buses to Zenica. All the others are still waiting to be transferred, which is expected to take place today.

Unlike the first group that did not have major problems with the [Serb] aggressor's army, the last two groups were exposed to considerable mistreatment, and a number of women and men were robbed of their valuables, gold jewelry and German marks, at gunpoint. This was done by the members of Karadzic's rebels at the checkpoint in Luke, between Vlasenica and Kladanj, where they were ordered off the buses. Three cases of violent physical abuse were also registered to have taken place in Luke.

Preparations are under way for further transports.

### Mladic, Smith Discuss POW's

*LD2707081195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2328 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Zepa, 26 Jul (SRNA)—Commander of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic Army Colonel General Ratko Mladic had talks today with General Rupert Smith, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the disarming of the remaining Muslim soldiers in Zepa.

General Mladic reiterated the Serb demand that POW's from Zepa be exchanged for Serb prisoners from Gorazde, Bihac, Sarajevo, and central Bosnia on the "all-for-all" principle.

Hasan Muratovic, chairman of the Muslim commission for liaison with UNPROFOR, should have attended the talks with General Mladic, but did not show up for reasons only known to him.

General Smith, who is mediating between Izetbegovic's government and the Serb Republic authorities on the resolution of the Zepa situation, declined to comment on the talks with General Mladic and left for Sarajevo immediately after the talks.

According to the Muslim [Sarajevo] radio, this evening Muratovic expressed readiness of Izetbegovic's government to exchange POW's on the all-for-all principle, as requested by the Serb side.

According to statements by representative of the local Muslim authorities in Zepa, Hamdija Torlak, and Ukrainian UNPROFOR battalion officers, complete surrender of arms in Zepa and the completion of the entire operation is expected 27 July.

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### UNHCR Warns of 'Humanitarian Disaster' in Bihac

*AU2607131995 Paris AFP in English 1304 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 26 (AFP)—Thousands of Moslem refugees were shipped out of the fallen Zepa enclave Wednesday [26 July] as Bosnian Serb forces turned their sights on another enclave, Bihac, where the Croatian Army looked set to intervene and widen the Balkan conflict. [passage omitted]

In the northwest Bihac enclave, clashes between Croatian Serb (ARSK) forces and Bosnian Government defenders continued for the seventh straight day. Overnight the ARSK launched two attacks on Bosnian Army 5th Corps troops and heavily shelled a town in the centre of the enclave, UN spokesman Chris Vernon said.

Bosnian Serb forces lying to the south and east have coordinated attacks with their Croatian Serb brethren to increase pressure on the 5th Corps.

UN aid officials reported 8,000 refugees "on the run" from the fighting. The influx of refugees into the south of the pocket "was another humanitarian disaster in the making," UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski said. [passage omitted]

In Bosnia, Zagreb's Bosnian Croat proxies have begun strikes on ARSK supply routes further to the south at a border crossing, Bosnian Serb radio reported. Bosnian Croat sources reported Serb attacks on their lines.

Zagreb has publicly stated that the fall of Bihac would threaten its own national security. The Croatian and Bosnian Governments signed a military pact last Saturday over the defence of the enclave. [passage omitted]

### Fighting Prompts 1,000 To Flee

*AU2607193495 Paris AFP in English 1846 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, July 26 (AFP)—More than 1,000 civilians have fled fighting which has been raging for the past week in the northwest Bosnian enclave of Bihac, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said here Wednesday [26 July].

The displaced persons, mostly women and children, have sought refuge with relatives and friends in the town of Cazin, which is situated in the heart of the enclave 20 kilometres (12 miles) north of Bihac town, the aid agency said in a statement. ICRC officials were helping the refugees by providing water, food and blankets.

Clashes between Bosnian Serbs, Croatian Serbs and rebel Moslems on the one hand and government forces on the other have intensified in the past week around Bihac as the Serbs press an offensive to sweep away the UN-designated safe areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Clashes have already prompted a total of 7,000 to 8,000 refugees to flee Bihac, providing the United Nations and other aid agencies with a major humanitarian problem.

Meanwhile, the ICRC also announced it had sent a group of six officials and 28 interpreters in the central Bosnian town of Kladanj, where Moslem refugees from another "safe haven," Zepa in the east, are being evacuated by Serb forces.

The ICRC personnel are to conduct special search missions for refugees separated from their relatives and for those missing in a bid to reunite families still suffering from the trauma of the expulsion from their town.

Zepa, a one-time UN-designated safe haven, fell to Bosnian Serb forces Tuesday, exactly two weeks after the Srebrenica enclave fell prompting several waves of refugees to flee westward into government-held territory.

### Army: Serbs Want Divided Bihac

*AU2607195695 Paris AFP in English 1939 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 26 (AFP)—The Serbs of the self-declared Krajina Republic in Croatia have shelled Cazin in the government-held enclave of Bihac and are seeking to split the enclave in two, a Bosnian Army spokesman said Wednesday [26 July].

The shelling of Corazin, located in the south of the pocket on a strategic north-south axis, left nine dead and 50 wounded, said the spokesman, Sandi Zulic, reached by telephone from Zagreb.

On the sixth day of the offensive, launched from neighboring Croatia, some 8,000 people fled the fighting which affected front lines in the north and the west.

More than 80 square kilometers (25 square miles) were taken by the Krajina Serbs along with their allies, rebel Moslems loyal to local warlord Fikret Abdic, and they penetrated about eight kilometers (five miles) into the pocket.

Abdic on Wednesday proclaimed an "autonomous republic of western Bosnia" in the northwest of the pocket, speaking from his stronghold Velika Kladusa. He had already proclaimed an "autonomous province of western Bosnia" in September 1993.

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Chased out of the city in August 1994 following military successes by the Bosnian Army 5th Corps, Abdic fled to Croatia with numerous refugees. He returned to the enclave in late 1994.

### 'Full Force' Offensive Continues

*AU2707104695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 27 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The aggressor's offensive against the Bihac region has continued with full force today. The enemy artillery is targeting Cazin, and the villages of Krivaja, Coralici, Pecigrad, Trzacka Rastela, and the outskirt villages in the Bihac municipality, particularly those along the state border with the Republic of Croatia.

The determined and adequate response by the courageous defenders of the 5th Corps repulsed infantry attacks by Martic's and Abdic's Chetniks in the area of Bugar. The aggressor is continuing to bring in reinforcements to this region from Serbia and other parts of the self-styled Yugoslavia.

According to the information provided by our correspondent Mirza Sadikovic, the tragedy of the civilian population is deteriorating daily. The number of those who have been expelled and those who have fled has reached 10,000. Most of them still have no accommodation, and are exposed to the constant Chetnik artillery fire.

### Gorazde Correspondent Reports Serb Attacks

*AU2707112495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 27 Jul 95*

[Report by Muhamed Hadzijahic from Gorazde]

[FBIS Translated Text] The fiercest attacks by the terrorists of war criminal Radovan Karadzic are again directed against the residential areas of this so-called protected zone. The aggressor's murderers have been firing with M-84 machine guns and snipers from [word indistinct], and Vilinska Kosa at Vitkovici, (Mravinac), and [word indistinct]. M-84 machine guns have also been firing from Jelaska Kosa and (Desani) at Radici, and Borovi.

The Foca Chetniks from the direction of (Debela Smedja) have been firing with portable rocket launchers at Osanica, while on the Rogatica part of the front they have been shelling Podborove, and Bijele Dvore with 82-mm mortar shells.

The aggressor's army has been firing heavily with antiaircraft weapons, and M-84 machine guns on the Pale part of the front, from (Ratkovac), [word indistinct], and Crvene Stijene at [word indistinct] and Hrenovica.

On the part of the front toward Cajnice Karadzic's terrorists from [word indistinct] have been using chemical agents against (?Dobanici).

One civilian has been killed, and three suffered serious injuries in Gorazde in the aggressor's attacks.

### Chemical Weapon Use Reported

*LD2607185495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor and Karadzic's terrorists have intensified their artillery actions against the free safe zone of Gorazde, and used chemical weapons. As a result of the aggressors' actions, one child was wounded.

During the afternoon the villages of Vitkovici, Mravinjak, Vranici, and Potrkusa were subjected to a powerful attack by the aggressors, who used 60mm mortars, antiaircraft machine guns, and sowers of death [heavy machine guns], while the Gorazde-Mravinjak road came under very heavy Chetnik fire.

On the sector of the front around Cajnice, the terrorists of war criminal Radovan Karadzic used 82-mm mortars to shell the (?Tovarlic) area, and at the same time they used chemical weapons which are banned by international conventions. Another child was injured as a result of the aggressors' actions.

### Mladic Urges Defenders To Disarm

*AU2707091095 Paris AFP in English 0835 GMT 27 Jul 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 27 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb Army commander General Ratko Mladic issued a veiled threat to the government authorities in Gorazde Thursday saying his forces would not attack if there was no further miltary action from the enclave.

In a report on Bosnian Serb radio, the army chief was quoted during an interview with journalists in Zepa as asking for soldiers in the only remaining Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia to lay down their weapons.

"He (Mladic) offered a meeting with the representatives of the local authorities to solve all problems in a peaceful way. All that they should do is to surrend their arms," the radio report stated.

Mladic has personnally commanded the Serb assaults on Zepa and Srebrenica, two UN-declared safe areas that his forces overran in the space of two weeks. Thousands of civilians have been trucked from the enclaves at gunpoint while helpless UN peacekeepers stood by and watched.

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Reports of abuses during the expulsion of Moslems from Srebrenica have emerged after investigations by aid agencies caring for the refugeees.

The excuse he used to attack the enclaves was allegations of military operations from Zepa and Srebrenica that have never been substantiated. Gorazde is the largest of the three enclaves with some 60,000 people living in the area which is surrounded by Serb forces.

"There will be no attack on Gorazde if (the Bosnian Army) abstains from further military actions," Bosnian Serb radio quoted the general as saying.

Gorazde has been singled out by the international community as being the one UN safe area they would defend with widespread NATO airstrikes against the Bosnian Serbs if it is attacked.

**Karadzic Threatens 'World War III'**

*AU2707095895 Vienna NEWS in German 27 Jul 95 p 57*

["Radio interview" with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic by unidentified reporters; place and date not given: "This Would Be World War III"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [NEWS] What will you do if NATO attacks?

[Karadzic] Then there will be World War III. No one would be able to keep such a conflict under control. Anyone who helps the Muslims must be aware of the fact that he is at war with the Serbs. We will defend ourselves; we will shoot at anyone who attacks us.

[NEWS] Why have you attacked the UN protection zones?

[Karadzic] These are not protection zones but bases of the Muslim armed forces, from which attacks against the Serbs were made. We would not have attacked if these zones had really been demilitarized. If the United Nations wants to protect Gorazde, it should turn Muslim soldiers into civilians.

[NEWS] What will happen now in Gorazde?

[Karadzic] The Bosnian Muslims do not need this enclave. They just want to make the situation more difficult for us. I suggest exchanging Gorazde for an urban part of Serb Sarajevo. The capital city must be divided into two parts. We would be content with 56 percent of Bosnian territory, even though we have a right to 64 percent and currently control 70 percent.

**Mladic Sees 'Common' Serb State as War Aim**

*AU2707094395 Vienna NEWS in German 27 Jul 95 p 57*

[Interview with Colonel General Ratko Mladic, head of the Bosnian Serb Army, by unidentified journalists; place and date not given: "For a Serb State"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [NEWS] What will you do if the United Nations really gets down to business?

[Mladic] We must survive against a stronger, better equipped enemy, supported by the United Nations. But we do not have any other choice. The point is to save the Serb people from genocide.

[NEWS] You are driving thousands from their homes.

[Mladic] There is no other solution. Tell them to go to the collection points and not flee across mine fields.

[NEWS] Do you believe that the Serbs will win?

[Mladic] We will win if they let me win. Parliament must fulfill my seven demands. However, I too have enemies. My father and my daughter were killed by Serbs. [sentence as published—Mladic has claimed in the past that the Croatian Ustashe killed his father, while his daughter committed suicide]

[NEWS] What is your goal in the war?

[Mladic] The first goal is a common state for all Serb countries. If this cannot be enforced, a federation with Serbia and Montenegro could be envisaged. The last possibility would be sovereignty. And the question as to what the planned "Bosnia-Herzegovina Union" would be like afterward has to be answered by the so-called protectors of the Bosnian-Croatian Federation.

**U.S. Arms 'Easy Booty'**

*LD2707091695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0010 GMT 27 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Zepa, 27 Jul (SRNA)—The liberation of Srebrenica and Zepa have taken place because the Muslims reneged on the agreement on their demilitarization and set up the eastern Bosnia corps on the territory of protected zones, Col. Gen. Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serb Republic Army, stated in Zepa last night.

Gen. Mladic stressed that the objective of the Serb Army was not to kill civilians and UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] members, but to disarm the 28th Muslim Division in Srebrenica and several brigades in Zepa which operated in the framework of Izetbegovic's eastern Bosnia corps.

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"In Zepa and Srebrenica we seized ammunition and weapons of Iranian origin, which had been brought to this area probably by helicopter."

According to Gen. Mladic, the issue of Gorazde can be resolved through contacts with local authorities, by the surrender of arms, while the civilians would be allowed to stay if they wished so.

"The protected zone of Gorazde must not be a base for Muslim terrorist actions against Serb civilians and positions, and this issue should be resolved by reason, not arms," Gen. Mladic said.

Gen. Mladic went on to say that Muslim civilians in Zepa and those who voluntarily surrendered arms were treated according to the principles of international humanitarian law, "the same as the Serb Army has been treating the civilian population and captured enemy soldiers throughout the war."

"The world keeps turning a blind eye to the existence of the Muslim prison in Tarcin and fails to acknowledge the fact that on several occasions during the war we evacuated or allowed enemy civilians to cross through our territory."

Commenting on the deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and their possible conflict with the Serbs, Mladic said:

"Whether a conflict happens does not depend on us or them, but on those who have sent them and on the danger of their being manipulated by provocations by the Muslim Sarajevo government side," the Serb Army commander said.

Reacting to a comment that the Rapid Reaction Force is well armed, Gen. Mladic said that 500,000 Muslim and Croat soldiers are fighting against the Serb Republic, but have not achieved anything, "which leaders of the Rapid Reaction Force should take into consideration."

"We are on our own land, for whose freedom the best Serb men have been dying for centuries, and it will be tragic if someone decides to realize his goals over other people's heads, irrespective of which nation they belong to."

Commenting on the efforts made by the Islamic lobbyist in the U.S. Senate, Bob Dole, and others that the United States unilaterally lift the arms embargo on arms deliveries to Izetbegovic's government in Sarajevo, Gen. Mladic said:

"Nobody needs weapons in this area. More reason is needed instead, in order to sit down at the negotiating table and reach an agreement on the permanent cessation of hostilities."

If the Americans nevertheless start delivering weapons to the Muslims, Mladic said that it will become "easy booty for the Serb Army."

"The embargo has never existed. On the contrary, the West and Islamic countries have been continuously delivering weapons to the Muslims; U.S. military experts and officers are training their soldiers," Gen. Mladic stressed.

Asked to react to the Hague Tribunal decision to bring charges against the Serb Republic president and himself, Gen. Mladic repeated that he only "defended his nation, its dignity, pride and his honor as an officer," saying that "the Tribunal is yet another international tool for political pressure on the Serb Republic."

"While Izetbegovic and his followers were in prison, the Muslims were free. When they were released from prison, the Muslims found themselves incarcerated," the Serb Republic Army commander concluded.

### RS's Buha Wants U.S., Russia To Take Charge

*AU2607153695 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 95*

[Interview with Bosnian Serb Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha by Zoran Zuza on 25 July; place not given—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Buha] Concerning the ultimatum, I would first like to say that another link has been added to the chain of absurdity insofar as the ultimatum starts from consequences, and (?overlooks) the causes. Our counteroffensive would never have taken place if Muslim offensives had not been launched from the safe areas. These offensives were possible because the international community did not abide by principles; it did not abide by the international law concerning safe areas. Having created the safe areas, its duty was to demilitarize them and make sure that no military actions are launched from these areas. The international community did not do so, and, as you know, Muslim military actions were, as a rule, launched from the safe areas. We responded by launching counteroffensives, and now the ultimatum relates only to counteroffensives, that is, to the side that was forced to launch counteroffensives.

A logical issue then arises, which is how to prevent Muslim offensives from the safe areas, if efforts are aimed at stopping Serb counteroffensives. This discrepancy is not only a logical one, but also one that speaks for itself. I hope that the international community will take this issue into account, the issue of cause, I would say, before considering the issue of results. The encouraging fact is that the United Nations, through Mr.

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Akashi, still insists on double commands, but it is questionable to what extent the United Nations will remain independent, that is, unbiased, in that respect, and to what extent they will turn into an instrument of NATO and, later, of the United States, as they have had the tendency, which is becoming reality. The best variant would, naturally, be to give the key to one or the other factor and to free the factor of any control.

[Zuza] What is your comment to the results of the London conference?

[Buha] I would say that the new London conference has caused the agents and elements wishing to become involved in this civil war in one way or another to multiply. I think that the new London conference has resulted in nothing encouraging; on the contrary, it has brought to light the conglomerate of interests and a conceptual confusion concerning the political solution.

When all the events concerning this war and the efforts of the so-called international community to find a political solution are added up, it seems to me that [words indistinct] in the following way: the more the elements that wish to mediate, to help, or "to help" find the political solution multiply, the further we are from the solution. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that this practice should end. Moreover, similar experiences in other parts of the world have shown that the only way to reach a solution is to have one or two great powers take the matter in their own hands, and then, since there are less factors involved, it is easier to reach acceptable proposals, in this case, proposals that would be relatively just and acceptable to all the three peoples in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. I believe that this power should be the United States, along with Russia.

**Serb Commentary Predicts Capture of Gorazde**

*AU2707115395 Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 95 p 2*

[Commentary by Ilija Guzina: "What Is Coming Can Only Be Better"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The complicated problem of the war in the Balkans has cleared up more over the last month than during the last three years. Events unfolded as follows: Once more the Muslims convinced the United States and their Islamic allies that they could defeat the Serbs if they could just get food and ammunition. And, naturally, they got both the ammunition and food, as well as plenty of money. Then they started their greatest offensive in the war, against the Serb parts of Sarajevo. The Muslims' allies did not get involved, but issued some statements pretending to oppose the offensive, but secretly they were happy, expecting that the Serbs, who, according to the Western intelligence services, were stumbling both morally and militarily, would suffer a defeat that could later be used to blackmail them into accepting conditions imposed on them.

But things proved for the 100th time during this conflict that the analyses and assessments of the Serbs made by Western intelligence sources were only a platitude, because the Serbs were neither morally stumbling nor did they prove to be militarily weaker than they were in their best days.

On the contrary, the Serbs crushed the offensive, inflicting losses on the Muslims that can be considered the heaviest in this war. The losses were so heavy that they caused real panic in Alija's tiny state. The Muslims' allies were bewildered by the amazingly brave nation in southeastern Europe. Incapable of carrying out a more successful campaign on a larger scale, the enraged Muslims carried on with their "incursions" from the safe havens. They killed everything Serb that they came across, they burned down and robbed Serbian villages, believing that the Serbs could not retaliate this time, since the safe havens were protected by the United Nations. Apart from that, the powerful United States was behind it all. The last straw was the murder of six Serb soldiers near Han Pijesak. They were perfidiously murdered by raiders who came there from Srebrenica. Having no other choice, the Serbs started the operation to liberate Srebrenica. The action was performed so marvelously that international military analysts were absolutely astonished. The question asked by NATO was: "Where is the end for the Serbs?" Almost without losses, the Serbs defeated a whole army consisting of 10,000 armed people deployed in the allegedly demilitarized zone. The world became confused and Jacques Chirac, who was until then thought to be following his illustrious and honorable predecessor and great friend of Serbia, General de Gaulle, suddenly screamed: "The Serbs have to be expelled from Srebrenica." His war cry was not heard by France's allies, however. Even British Prime Minister Mr. Major uttered a sentence that the British did not want to unveil until that moment: "England will not wage war against the Serbs." This sentence explained innumerable things and showed that the British are not so quick to forget, that they remember certain things for a long time, and that they are able to appreciate more than the French. Nor did the United States support military intervention in Srebrenica. It is possible that the controversial Chirac did not support it, either; it might all have been just a game or yet another test of Serbian resolve.

No intervention was possible because it was theoretically impossible to carry out. Even the most militant

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supporters of the military option in the West realized this. The Rapid Reaction Force with 10,000 or 12,000 men would have been a ridiculously small force to expel the Serbs from a piece of their land in this part of the Drina valley. At least 50,000 or 100,000 soldiers would have been necessary and in the whole of the Western world it is impossible to mobilize so many lunatics ready to attack the Serbian land.

The Serbs are in Zepa today. They will be in Gorazde tomorrow, unless the zone is demilitarized. The problem of the demarcation line in Sarajevo will have to be solved too. The weapons of those Muslim murderers who sow death on the Serb part of the city every day will have to be silenced. The Serb Army is so powerful that it can solve all these questions this summer. It is so efficient that it cannot be scared, let alone defeated or destroyed, by any intervention from the West. The West has fully realized this. There are more and more people in the West who are fed up with harangues against the Serbs. A meeting of the foreign and defense ministers of the Contact Group member countries is scheduled for Friday in London. It has been announced that they will come up with a solution that will finally end this war. Whether something like this will happen first of all depends on the extent to which the participants of this meeting are really ready to accept the reality that the Serbs are masters of their own destiny in this region and that they will never agree to the idiotic division offered to them through the so-called Contact Group plan. If the representatives of the five great powers finally move away from the plan, which they were foolishly convinced would be accepted by the Serbs if in no other way then by use of force, and if they accept the reality in the field, as has been proposed by the British and some other international media, then there are chances for peace.

If they blindly stick to the phrase that it is required that all parties to the conflict accept the Contact Group plan and start negotiating, there will be no chance for peace now. I say now, because in that case there is Option "B" for the Serbs. The ending of the war through final victory and that victory will happen at the moment when the Serb Army boot enters Marijin Dvor [central part of Sarajevo]. If Option "B" proves to be the only solution, the Serbs are capable of entering Sarajevo and celebrating a final triumph within a very short period of time. NATO bombers and other threats have ceased to be able to hamper the Serb Republic liberation army. We are experienced in this respect. The ominous aircraft that, in the name of peace, mostly attacked the Serbs during the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina can easily be warded off. It is enough to shoot down one or two and they will not appear for a long time. They would need much time to summon up the courage to fly over this area again.

Not optimistic about agreements to be made by the great powers, since there is neither harmony nor power among them and they do not believe that much is expected of them, the Serbs are completing their task piece by piece. There is not much left to be done. The state is well rounded, suitably fortified, and we have experience in fighting, so we can defend it without anyone being able to threaten us. There is no need for pessimism and fear. The worst is behind us; the events to come can only be better.

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**UN To Reinforce Presence Along Border**

*AU2707115095 Paris AFP in English 1139 GMT 27 Jul 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 27 (AFP)—The United Nations announced Thursday it would beef up its presence along the border between Croatia and Bosnia following an upsurge of fighting in the northwestern Bosnian enclave of Bihac.

"The plan is to move as quickly as possible to deter (an) outbreak of conflict" in Croatia, Canadian Colonel Norris Pettis, a UN military official in Croatia said.

**Sanader: Zagreb Prepared To Defend Bosnia**

*AU2607173995 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jul 95 p 5*

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader by Robert Bajrusi; place and date not given: "Bihac Must Not Fall"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] What were the main topics discussed at the Split meeting between Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic, to what extent do they agree on the open political questions, and what is the attitude of the international community towards the appeal to Croatia to help defend Bosnia-Herzegovina from the Greater-Serbian aggression? Those are the questions we posed to one of the participants at the meeting, Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader.

[Bajrusi] Although the public has been acquainted with the final declaration of the Split meeting between the leaderships of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, can you tell us what its meaning is?

[Sanader] The meeting of the leaderships occurred at the initiative of the Muslim-Bosniak side, but also of the Croatian side, since it was obvious that the fall of Srebrenica and the intense attacks on Bihac, both by the Bosnian Serbs and by the Serbs from the occupied parts of Croatia, were the reasons for this meeting. However, the original reason was the need to discuss the implementation of the Washington Agreement. In that sense, the talks came at exactly the right time, and I have no doubts that all that has been written in the declaration is of great significance for all sides. [passage omitted]

[Bajrusi] The public was most impressed by the part of the declaration that speaks about the military help of Croatia in the defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina. What sort of news is that in the relations between the two countries?

[Sanader] The appeal to the Republic of Croatia does not concern only the Bihac region, although it is a priority because it is of enormous significance for Croatia, both in the geopolitical and the humanitarian sense. The fall of Bihac would allow the occupied territories of Croatia and the parts of Bosnia under Serb control to join into one integral entity that would endanger the vital interests of the Croatian state, as well as of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. So it is a matter of preeminent political significance for Croatia, and therefore Bihac must by no means fall. On the other hand, the fall of Bihac would put the 200,000 inhabitants in a horribly difficult situation, and most of the wave of refugees would come to Croatia, which would inevitably reflect on our situation with the displaced people and refugees. Bearing in mind that all of our capacities have already been filled, Europe would have to face another wave of refugees. I have no doubts that, in that case, we would find a solution for every one of those people, but we will simply not allow that to happen. Therefore, the Split declaration relates to the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina, but, at the moment, the situation is most critical in the Bihac region. The Republic of Croatia is prepared to respond to the appeal for help. At this moment, I cannot say what our concrete moves are going to be. They will depend on further developments and on our consultations with our allies. [passage omitted]

**Good Reactions**

[Bajrusi] Does that mean that the international community would not react too harshly if, conditionally speaking, the implementation of the Split agreement came about, meaning some Croatian military actions in the neighboring state?

[Sanader] In the case of such developments, we think that the international community would have to have understanding, because otherwise we would face a dilemma, since it was the international community that proclaimed the protected areas, and its duty is to protect them, so if a tragedy like that in Srebrenica should happen again, then the credibility of the international community and of the United Nations would be seriously questioned. The dilemma is: If the international community cannot protect Bihac with the UN forces, not only from the aggression of the Bosnian Serbs, but also of the Croatian Serbs, i.e. the aggressors from a neighboring country, is it not the duty of Croats and Bosniaks to defend it themselves? Therefore, we would expect the international community to show understanding for such a development, and I believe that there can be no different reactions. But I want to repeat once again that I do not know whether that will come about at all. In any case, Croatia has been appealed to and it has

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accepted the appeal, so that, if there is a need, we will think about our steps, retaining our legal right to look after our vital state interests.

**The Support of the Bosniaks**

[Bajrusi] Is it true that, in a greater part of the international community, there is opposition to what Carl Bildt offered to Slobodan Milosevic, namely the lifting of the sanctions in exchange for his recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Sanader] According to some unofficial information, the international community has not agreed to Bildt's offer to Belgrade. From the standpoint of the Republic of Croatia, that is good, because we believe that Croatia cannot be excluded from that process, namely that one part of its sovereign territory is still under occupation cannot be neglected; i.e. the sanctions cannot be lifted only on the basis of the mutual recognition of former Yugoslav republics. It is in our interest that, in all these peace processes, one keeps in mind that it all started in Croatia and that Croatia cannot be left until last. [passage omitted]

[Bajrusi] Muslim countries have said that they have decided to arm the forces of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. What is the attitude of Croatia, taking into account that most of the arms would pass through our territory?

[Sanader] If I have said that Croatia has accepted the appeal of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of the Federation for military and any other help, I believe I have already answered this question.

**'Specific Measures' Considered**

*AU2707095695 Vienna KURIER in German 27 Jul 95 p 5*

[Article by Susanne Lintl: "There Has Been New Determination Since London"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For the Croatian Government Bihac is a central strategic point in Bosnia. In an interview with KURIER, Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader comments on the latest development around the enclave.

Regarding the reasons for potential "help" by Zagreb, he said: "As a result of a potential fall of Bihac, the territories occupied by the Serbs in Croatia and the territories occupied by the Serbs in Bosnia would form a unit, and this would change the strategic situation to our disadvantage. All communication routes would be in Serbian hands. Furthermore, there are more than 200,000 people in the Bihac region: Muslims and Croats. Our capacities to take in refugees are already filled now, since we have accepted more than 400,000 displaced persons. Just imagine this human tragedy: All of western Europe would be swamped with refugees."

Concerning the failure of the international community in the former Yugoslavia, he stated: "It is certain that the United Nations did not protect or defend the protection zones of Srebrenica and Zepa. Now I hope that the decision of the London conference on Bosnia will indeed be implemented. I think that there is now new determination in terms of atmosphere and statements."

Asked about U.S. reports that Croatian troops are already fighting in Bihac, he pointed out: "The Bosnian Croats yes, but not the Croatian Army. And there are also some activities by the Bosnian Croats in the area of Livno, Kupres, and Glamoc. Zagreb is just considering specific measures."

As regards the accusation that the recognition of Croatia was the event that led to the escalation in Bosnia, Sanader said: "It is just the other way round: The recognition of Croatia and Slovenia by Germany and Austria led to peace. Afterwards, there has never been fighting in Croatia, apart from the operation by the Croatian Army in Maslenica and western Slavonija now. But this fighting was the consequence of the right of any sovereign state in the world to deal with problems on its territory."

**Weekly: U.S. Gave Zagreb 'Green Light'**

*LD2607144395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1429 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 26 (TANJUG)—The United States has given the green light for Croatia's intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Zagreb weekly PANORAMA reported on Wednesday.

The paper said this was evident from U.S. Ambassador Peter Galbraith's presence during the signing of a military agreement between Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, in Croatia's seaport city of Split late last week.

The paper quoted diplomatic sources as saying that, just two days before the signing of the Split agreement, Tudjman's special envoy Miomir Zuzul had met with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel in London.

PANORAMA said everybody kept silent about the meeting although it should be regarded as a preparation for and an announcement of the Split agreement.

The United States has in any case approved the military alliance which was set up in Split and which the Franco-English troops wanted to forestall, insisting that Bosnian

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Croat troops would allow them to take their positions on the Dinara mountain range, the paper said.

Through the setting up of the Split military alliance, the Franco-English coalition has lost the planned advantage in an attempt to prolong the status quo situation in Bosnia by deploying the Rapid Reaction Force there, the paper said.

PANAROMA also said that, by approving the agreement, the U.S. diplomacy had taken a significant strategic step that stripped the Franco-British coalition of the role of arbiter of the Bosnian conflict.

**Troops Reportedly Fire on FRY Army Positions**

*AU2607183895 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 95 p 2*

[Commentary by Boro Maric: "Igniting a New War"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Will the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia set out to take Prevlaka, an area in Boka Kotorska Bay controlled by the UN peacekeeping force, and thereby start a war against the FRY?

As unrewarding as it is to anticipate steps taken by the Croatian president, Franjo Tudjman, it is as certain that he has never deleted Prevlaka, the border between Montenegro and Croatia in the former Yugoslavia, from the land registers of his state.

On the contrary, the chief of the Croatian state and his subordinates have repeated an infinite number of times so far that they will reinstate every inch of the Croatian land, even by force if it proves necessary, in its constitutionally legal system.

Which is to say, Tudjman is threatening with his Army not only the Republic of Serb Krajina, but also Yugoslavia, even though he has taken on the obligation to settle the issue of Prevlaka by political, rather than military means.

By opening fire on 4 and 9 July at the positions of the Yugoslav Army in Greda, at Boka Kotorska Bay, the Croatian Armed Forces have made it half way toward a war with Yugoslavia. The other half, fortunately, was not made by the Yugoslav Army, which restrained from firing back at Tudjman's army.

The basic question in all this is: Why would the Croatian president start a conflict, from which, as he knows himself, he could emerge only as the defeated side?

The Croatian opposition claims that Tudjman is preserving himself in power only by incessantly keeping up the state of war in Croatia, which has been a general excuse for failures done by him and his ruling party, the Croatian Democratic Community, ever since they attained power.

Second, skirmishing, and particularly large-scale conflicts with the Yugoslav Army would divert the attention of the world from the actual targets of the Croatian Armed Forces, the Republic of Serb Krajina and former Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which more than 35,000 troops from Croatia are already fighting against the Army of the Serb Republic.

And third, Tudjman, at least to a degree, has some chances to settle the question of the Croatian territorial integrity by arms, but only as long as the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina lasts. When the weapons fall silent there, and that could happen soon, then the chances that the world would allow triggering a new crisis in former Yugoslavia will be quite small.

Therefore Tudjman is in a hurry to find a new path of war, even if it threatens to take both him and Croatia directly into an abyss.

**Serb Krajina Declares General Mobilization**

*LD2707102495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0944 GMT 27 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 27 Jul (TANJUG)—Units of the Croatian Army and the Croat Defense Council [HVO] are continuously bringing in new forces and weapons to the borders of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], says a joint statement issued today by the General Staff of the Serb Krajina Army and the RSK Defense Ministry, ISKRA reports.

At the same time, Croatian Army units are engaged in provocations in several areas aiming to cause serious incidents, while HVO units have continuously been shelling civilian targets in Grahovo and villages in the Grahovo municipality in the Serb Republic using artillery weapons and tanks.

The General Staff of the RSK Army and the command of the North Dalmatia Corps of the RSK Army have taken a series of measures aimed at further strengthening the defense of the RSK as it is more than obvious that Croatia is preparing an aggression against RSK territory.

In addition to measures taken so far, the General Staff of the RSK Army demands the following:

First: all conscripts of the North Dalmatia Corps who are currently engaged in performing tasks outside their units must contact their units at once.

Second: all conscripts who have do not have a military assignment must be given deployment posts and must contact their units immediately.

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Third: all soldiers and conscripts who are currently engaged in noncombat tasks will be involved in combat units at once.

Fourth: those not heeding these measures will be treated in accordance with regulations applied by the police and military police.

The court marshal will be in permanent sitting.

Fifth: all these activities will be coordinated by the bodies of the Defense Ministry for north Dalmatia, the Command of the North Dalmatia Corps, bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the military police, says the statement by the General Staff of the Serb Krajina Army carried by ISKRA.

**Martic Explains Mikelic's Dismissal**

*AU2707112695 Korenica Srpski Radio Korenica in Serbo-Croatian 0500 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Reacting to a number of biased articles in the Belgrade press that present the views of Borislav Mikelic, the former Republic of Serb Krajina prime minister, in an unprofessional manner, the information service of Milan Martic, the president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, has stated that Mr. Mikelic is obviously trying to portray himself as a political scapegoat.

He is trying to present himself as an authentic representative of the policy of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, describing all other political elements in Krajina as opponents of that policy. The statement reads: "In other words, Mr. Mikelic is trying to say that the very reason for his replacement lies in the fact that he represented Serbian policy in Krajina, which is nothing but a swindle. Everybody in Krajina is aware of that, but in order to explain that to the Serbian public, we must present some indisputable facts. To make things absolutely clear, we remind Mr. Mikelic that the initiative for his replacement originated from Milan Martic, the president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, in March of this year, and that none of the arguments in support of the demand was political. It is common knowledge that the following was given as a reason for the replacement of Prime Minister Mikelic: the unacceptable methods of the prime minister's government organization and leadership, which paralyzed the activities and efficiency of the government in the blockade, as well as most ministries resulting, globally speaking, in gross deviation in the functioning of all segments of the system in the Republic of Serb Krajina," says the statement. [sentence as heard]

Furthermore, the statement argues that the economic system of the Republic of Serb Krajina had been put in an untenable position characterized by monopolistic relations, the blockade of free trade, the allocation of economic subjects depending on connections with the prime minister, and, based on that criterion, the closing down of the market for all except privileged individuals. Finally, Krajina's national resources, under the auspices and with the support of the prime minister, were illegally transferred to private funds, emphasizes the reaction of the Republic of Serb Krajina president's information office. As regards opposing political views, they too are quite unambiguous. There were two diametrically opposed concepts and ways of arranging relations between the Republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia. Mr. Mikelic approached the talks with Sarinic from the point of view of petty trade and subjugated the national interest of Krajina to that principle. In other words, the possibility of making a profit from making deals with Sarinic was to Mikelic more important than the security of the Republic of Serb Krajina, i.e. while Mikelic's and Sarinic's convoys were in illegal transit through the Republic of Serb Krajina, the Army's fuel tanks were empty and the food for front-line soldiers was being delivered by horse and cart. It is therefore clear that the demand for the replacement of the prime minister was an attempt to rid the Krajina economy of Mikelic's parasitic apparatus, which jeopardized vital national interests, runs the reaction issued by President Martic's information service.

The next trick that Mr. Mikelic is trying to play consists of his attempt to prove that negotiations are his only ambition, while everyone else in Krajina wants war. It was not Mr. Mikelic who invented the talks with Croatia; they were being held before his time and the results of those talks were much better than those produced by the those led by Mr. Mikelic when he made economic deals with Sarinic.

Let us remind you of the greatest success of Krajina diplomacy: the cease-fire agreement signed on 29 March, 1994 in Zagreb, which, unlike Mikelic's agreement on the opening of the highway, treats both sides, the Republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia, equally. The entire Krajina public knows the outcome of the Mikelic-Sarinic deal that involve the highway, oil, and telegraph poles. In other words, Mikelic is to be condemned not for holding talks, but for the way in which the talks were conducted and for making economic agreements with the Croatian side, disrespecting Krajina's internal arrangements, and not consulting the Republic of Serb Krajina president or other Republic of Serb Krajina authorities.

Finally, as regards the thesis that Mr. Mikelic is trying to present to the Belgrade press that President Martic has allegedly realized his mistake and is now asking

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him back to Knin, we must point out the following: He has merely switched the theses. President Martic's order that the government should hold a session in Knin in keeping with the constitution is an attempt to force Mr. Mikelic, most of all, to act in line with the constitution and the law and to prevent his abuse and privatization of national resources, oil, the forests, and wheat, reads the reaction. The fact that the president is being forced to issue a decree ordering the government to fulfill its constitutional obligations is just further proof that his demand for Mr. Mikelic's replacement is well founded, reads the statement by the information service of the Republic of Serb Krajina president reacting to articles in the Belgrade press.

**RSK's 'Political, Territorial Breakup' in Sight**

*AU2607191295 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 95 pp 15-16*

[Commentary by Srdjan Radulovic: "Roadblock for Knin"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the last year's kidnapping of the former minister of foreign affairs, Ilija Prijic, policemen from the eastern part of Krajina recently carried out another "welcome" exercise, this time intended for the ministers and delegates from western Krajina, who were on their way to the session of the Krajina Assembly in Mirkovci, where the new government, lead by Milan Babic, was to be made official. On a roadblock near Tovarnik, the delegates and representatives of western Krajina Serbs were shown that formally Knin is the capital of what is still called Republic of Serb Krajina, but that the decisions are made much further east.

The justification for putting up this roadblock and for this political "slap in the face" to Knin was found in the dissatisfaction of the representatives of the majority of eastern Krajina municipalities with Babic's proposal of the new government, and with the plans, which had been made in spite of warnings, for the Assemblyt session to be held precisely in Mirkovci, a stronghold of Krajina radicals, who did not identify with the other municipalities. This justification of the mentioned move could easily be argued by invoking the legitimacy of the authorities, by the fact that disputable issues are to be solved precisely in the Assembly, or by the absurdness of putting up a roadblock for the first policeman of the country [Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina], who only found out from his subordinate that he had been ordered to do that (!?). However, that goes for those states in which the established rules of the game are obeyed; so if, for example, Arkan's units appeared in this story, that would be nothing else but one of the numerous consequences of the (lack of) functioning of the political system in Krajina.

**The "Justification" of the Attack**

The key to the political enigma of Krajina is in the hands of those who persistently repeat that the Republic of Serb Krajina must solve its status independently and on an equal basis with Zagreb, and that they are the ones to be thanked that the Serbian people in Croatia have been defended and have their own state, a state with its own "territory, authorities, army, people...." The problem, however, is that the representatives of the regime in Krajina do not decide independently, as they have been told [sentence as published]!

The last among the most significant early fighters of Krajina who broke that rule was Milan Martic. His support to Karadzic's rejection of the Contact Group plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the fall of his popularity in the official circles in Belgrade was used by another Milan [Babic, new prime minister], in the first phase of his marriage of convenience with Borislav Mikelic [former prime minister]; this brought him forgiveness in the motherland. However, Babic has shown that he has remained an unpredictable politician; he ousted Mikelic, and after "brotherly" warnings, calculations and a tug-of-war, he accepted the prime minister's baton.

The alliance of Martic and Babic, even if it is only a formal one, is seen as strengthening the so-called Knin faction. That, together with the western Slavonia case and the attempt at forming a "Knin government," is reason enough for old disputes between eastern and western Krajina to be reactivated. The tragedy of western Slavonia has almost exclusively political connotations. It is the trump card in Mikelic's attacks on Martic, and the former prime minister finds the stronghold for his campaign precisely in eastern Krajina. Of course, the responsibility for the fall of western Krajina has to be determined, if nothing else than for the sake of the moral of the story, but none of the people who held crucial positions in Krajina at the time is blameless. That is why this campaign is reminiscent of similar situations after the fall of Maslenica and the Medak pocket, with the difference that now the Croatian attack is being (un)consciously "justified" by the thesis that the reason for it was to close the highway.

**Public Secret**

The (mis)use of the western Slavonia case for purposes of daily politics has been confirmed by publicizing the report of the special State Commission for the establishment of responsibility. Such documents are usually classified "top secret," and are discussed in closed Assembly sessions. This time the "discussion" was held among the representatives of eastern Krajina

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municipalities on 14 July in Vukovar, and the contents of the document were given enormous publicity in the official media. Determining responsibility turned into a campaign of "scolding Martic."

The political breakup of the Republic of Serb Krajina and the attempts to bring Knin "to reason" conceal the growing possibility of the territorial division of Krajina. After all, the participants of the Assembly held on 25 May in Beli Manastir, when the Coordinating Committee of five eastern Krajina municipalities was formed (Goran Hadzic was elected its president), unambiguously said in their conclusion that "no political issue, or any other issue which might concern the vital interests of the Serbian people of the SBZS [expansion unknown] could in the future be solved without our consensus, because we are in a most direct way responsible for the destiny of this region and its people."

Is that the main goal of the latest political gambling with Krajina in the solution of global Serbo-Croatian relations?

When the Republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed on 19 December 1991 to consist of the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAO] Krajina and the SAO Western Slavonia, it was only later that the Assembly of the SAO Baranja, Eastern Slavonia and Western Srem decided to join them. The first man of Krajina at that time, Milan Babic, was not, as is being claimed, very interested in the eastern SAO, thinking it better if the "patronage" was overtaken by (neighboring) Serbia. However, the outlines of the Vance plan were already known at the time, just like the certainty that the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] will leave Croatia, so that the option to form the Republic of Serb Krajina by joining the two separated parts prevailed. From then on, the political image of eastern Krajina was characterized by its acceptance of all attitudes and decision of Belgrade, and the most drastic case occurred on the occasion of the Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, mid-1993, when the former president, Goran Hadzic, with a group of his followers (eastern Krajina delegates), unlike the Assembly and the government of the Republic of Serb Krajina, supported the attitudes of Belgrade (the all-Serbian assembly in the "Sava Centar" in Belgrade). Grain and oil from eastern Krajina were often used as a means of political pressure on Knin.

**The Day of the Republic**

Finally, the "game" should be brought to an end. International circumstances, inter-Serb relations, and also the improbability of the latest, and not only the latest, unifying initiative, make the issue of the status of Krajina a burning one. The "humane" reintegration of western Slavonia [into Croatia], with the blessing of the world and the lack of interest from the motherland, has made room for focusing on the two Krajina territories, for which the Z-4 plan proposes different treatments. The very fact that Croatia rejected that plan, and that Krajina never even took it into consideration, does not mean a lot, since it was generally supported in Belgrade, as "a basis for negotiations." The West stands on similar positions, inciting both Knin and Zagreb to proceed with negotiations. Their military provocations, at least in the foreseeable time, mainly serve for internal political use.

According to this "basis," western Krajina gets a (high) degree of autonomy (according to some interpretations, even with federal elements), whereas eastern Krajina is planned to be under international protectorate for five years. To force the Krajina leaders to sit at the negotiating table, it is necessary to soften the attitudes of Knin (Martic and Babic). If that variant is not accepted, the second phase is activated, political and territorial breakup of the Republic of Serb Krajina, which opens possibilities for eastern Krajina (through the Coordinating Committee or the former Regional Parliament) to accept the international protectorate, or for these "authorities" to issue writs for elections in their region, the result of which would be known in advance, as a reward for the acceptance of the protectorate and an alibi for Belgrade. In this way, it is estimated, Knin would lose the right to negotiate in the name of this part of Krajina, and it would become an integral part of global Serbo-Croatian negotiations. Only two possibilities would in that case be left for Knin: Either they will accept the mentioned Z-4 "basis for negotiation" and cross the limit they have up to now put as the minimum for their negotiating positions, or they will have to face strong political and economic pressure, anticipated in the present campaign of Belgrade, which, in a short period, could mean a big material and psychological exhaustion and the increased vulnerability of their defense.

What was the main news on the First of May? Oh yes: That the Day of the Republic was approaching.

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**Mazowiecki Resigns as Envoy to Former Yugoslavia**

*LD2707103195 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1000 GMT 27 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] In a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, special envoy of the UN Human Rights Commission to former Yugoslavia, has stated that he resigns from his mission. Mazowiecki wrote that he could take part no longer in the fictional defense of human rights in former Yugoslavia. In his last report, Mazowiecki accused the Bosnian Serbs of genocide in Srebrenica.

**Clinton Adviser Daniel Fried Grants Interview**

*WS2607140095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jul 95 p 7*

[Interview with Daniel Fried, "adviser to the U.S. President on Central and East Europe," by Maria Wagrowska in Washington; date not given: "Poland Will Definitely Find Its Way Into NATO If It Perpetuates the Policies of the Past Few Years; We Will Not Be Guided by Russian Critique"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Wagrowska] The United States seems to be viewing Russia as a strategic partner; it is trying to develop extensive cooperation with the federation, yielding to Moscow on many issues, among them the expansion of NATO toward the East. Some Polish observers thus claim that Washington's East European policy derives from its Russian policy.

[Fried] President Clinton's administration has developed a far-reaching security policy toward Europe. It sees Europe and European integration as a whole. We believe it is also possible to integrate Russia, but—and I wish to emphasize this—by no means at the expense of Central Europe. We will not make that mistake. We will not allow Russia to lay down the conditions for our cooperation with Central Europe. Neither will we communicate with Central Europe via Moscow.

We have a vision of expanding NATO to include the fledgling European democracies while simultaneously developing relations between NATO and Russia which—we hope—will be formalized. Both streams of our foreign relations--with Central Europe and with Russia—should be parallel. We have already begun implementing both our security policy theorems. The process of expanding NATO has already been launched, and relations between NATO and Russia, which decided to join Partnership for Peace, are also starting to develop.

[Wagrowska] What are the U.S. Administration's motives in allowing the fledgling democracies to join the Western structures and giving them security guarantees in the future?

[Fried] We incorporate the lessons of history in our current policies. We have forgotten neither the experience of World War II nor the epoch in which Central European states fell prey to totalitarian systems—Hitlerism and Stalinism. We Americans must also bear in mind that it was the isolationists in the United States in the 1940's who created the atmosphere that made Yalta possible.

For all of these reasons, we are very eager to take the opportunity to develop relations in the field of security with Poland and other "leading" democracies of Central Europe. I think we have come a very long way over the past two years. I remember well how we started because I visited Poland in 1990. I remember exactly where we were in 1993, when I left the U.S. Embassy in Poland and went to work for the White House. From this vantage point, I see how far we have come. I saw how theoretical assumptions that were to be a guiding light for the development of mutual relations evolved as events unfolded.

The U.S. Administration believes we have a unique opportunity—the biggest in this century—to construct a Europe that will break away from divisions demarcated in the mid-1940's and to prevent the emergence of new sharply distinct borders. I think the Clinton administration's policy is one of balance and gives hope for an undivided Europe. This is not only our opinion, but also that of our allies.

[Wagrowska] What will happen if Russia not only fails to accept NATO expansion to the East, but also refuses to cooperate in establishing a security system according to Western concepts? After all, it has joined Partnership for Peace only tentatively.

[Fried] We will not be guided by Russian critique in our policies. NATO has already decided to expand. It will not heed any Russian veto, regardless of whether it is overt or covert.

I think Moscow should realize that Russia will benefit from a stable, secure Central Europe that buttresses its democracy. Moscow should also understand that we want friendly relations between Central Europe and Russia. It should see that NATO is not a Cold War instrument directed against it, and that it never has been aggressive—no matter what communists claimed in their time. NATO performed only two functions in the past: It was a safeguard against aggression from the East, and it integrated the West, including states in which democracy was well established—like Great

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Britain—which reconciliated with the former Nazi Germany and former fascist Italy. NATO provided an institutional framework for both processes by creating a commonwealth of European democracies and establishing ties between them and America.

NATO can currently play a vital role in integrating all of the fledgling democracies in the East with us. This is not an exclusively American or exclusively Western way of thinking. I have the lingering impression that politicians and analysts from Central Europe view the issue of NATO expansion in the same way—regardless of whether it is [Hungarian Foreign] Minister Kovacs, [Czech Foreign] Minister Zieleniec, [Polish Foreign] Minister Bartoszewski, or his predecessor Minister Olechowski. They all want their countries to join NATO namely because they realize that the treaty plays an integrationist role. They appreciate the fact that NATO is not anti-Russian.

[Wagrowska] Let us assume that Russia takes steps threatening the security not only of the European Continent but also of the United States in protest to the expansion of NATO; for instance, it not only deploys its military forces on its western borders but also once again aims its nuclear missiles at strategic targets in the United States. How would the United States and the West react to that? Would they risk expanding NATO at the cost of good relations with Russia, at the risk of a new confrontation?

[Fried] I do not know how to answer such a highly hypothetical question. I do not think the situation you are asking me about could really happen. Neither do I believe it prudent to consider similar hypothetical scenarios. I can only repeat that our current concept of security policy is very serious. The administration is determined to do everything possible to implement it. We are implementing our European policies very cautiously and gradually so that it does not take anyone by surprise. We want to expand NATO cautiously and develop our relations with an ever more democratic Russia....

[Wagrowska] What if Russia does not evolve toward a democratic state?

[Fried] The situation is different from what your question might suggest. Not only in Russia, but also in Central Europe there exists the danger that authoritarian or nationalist rule may be reinstated in one of the post-communist states. This is, unfortunately, a historically rooted possibility. Therefore, in implementing its policies, the administration must consider the remonstrative voices of those who may always ask why it is attempting to expand NATO to include states that may not necessarily remain faithful to democracy.

Why are these states to be guaranteed security? We have to be prepared to answer our critics. We have to make them realize that in some West European states the threats to democracy were even larger than they currently are in, let us say, the Czech Republic. Those states did, however, overcome Nazism and fascism. They became fully convinced democracies.

I thus believe that, when Russia realizes it has an unprecedented opportunity of joining Europe, it will not waste it.

[Wagrowska] Some of the Polish politicians claim that the worse the situation in Russia is, the stronger our chances for joining NATO....

[Fried] Yes, I know that, but I do not agree with that school of thought. The basis of such thinking in Poland, as well as in the Czech Republic and Hungary, is the presumption that Russia's fate has been sealed by history and that Russia has no democratic future and will never even get that chance. I know history played a tremendous role in the case of Russia, but I do not believe it has definitively determined its fate. Proving that thesis is a huge challenge—primarily for Russia, but also for all the rest of us.

Please note that the same claims of a lack of chances for establishing a new Russia were raised in reference to Poland in the 1980's—namely, that the Roundtable was unlikely to succeed, and no breakthrough reforms of the economy were possible. I personally witnessed the struggles at the time, saying: I know this is extremely difficult, but the Poles will make it. If you tell me that it was far easier for Poland to switch to democracy and a market economy than it is for Russia, I will naturally admit you are right. Yet this does not necessarily mean that a historical breakthrough is impossible in Russia. The United States cannot adjudicate which state stands a chance of evolving into a democracy. Our role is—and should be—to support fledgling democracies.

I must take the opportunity to say how proud I am to be involved in such a policy, although I do understand those Polish friends of mine who would like their country to become a member of NATO as soon as possible. I would like to tell them that admitting Poland to NATO is inevitable if Poles continue their policies of the past five or six years—from the very moment they won back their independence and adopted democratic values as their own. If the Poles want to become part of the Western community, no one—neither Russia nor anyone else—can stand in their way.

Poles who have lived through their Targowicas [historical reference to the partitioning of Poland] and fell victims to Germans and Russians proved that they can be

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truly sovereign. They are building a new Europe. NATO will accept Poland because Poland is no longer a subject but—since 1989—an object of history. NATO is preparing to open up. The inclusion of Poland in NATO will mean that the West extended a helping hand toward it.

[Wagrowska] There are states in Central Europe, however, that, according to Western observers, do not fulfill the basic requirement for NATO accession, yet declare their will to become members. [Fried] That is true. But President Clinton has clearly stated in public that we are not interested in having a country that chooses the authoritarian option as a partner. After all, each state can isolate itself from its surroundings. This is not so in the case of Poland. Your country has established friendly relations with all of its neighbors, including Ukraine and Lithuania. Polish foreign policy often anticipates various problems before they appear in many areas and focuses on those that really matter. That is a prerequisite for us to cooperate. If a state chooses authoritarianism, nationalism, etatism, there will be no basis for developing bilateral relations.

[Wagrowska] Some political analysts and commentators maintain that the Baltic states will probably not become NATO members, despite the fact that they meet the basic requirement of developing democracy, as you yourself have previously said... It is sometimes said that the United States will yield to Russia's protests in the case of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia...

[Fried] We are entering no such deals, no matter what the state in question is. We consider all countries within the Partnership for Peace project to be potential NATO members. We treat the Baltic states as a part of Central Europe, as fledgling democracies no different from the other states in the region—apart from the fact that they had been occupied and illegally incorporated in the Soviet Union, which the United States never acknowledged. We treat the Baltic states very seriously and are very happy that we are developing our relations with them. We are trying to help them. We support, for instance, the formation of a Baltic battalion for peace operation purposes. We have offered our assistance in establishing a regional air defense system....

[Wagrowska] It seems the United States has acknowledged Ukraine as its partner. Does that mean Ukraine is considered to be a potential NATO member?

[Fried] The United States does not exclude the membership of any state within Partnership for Peace, Russia and Ukraine being no exception. We similarly do not exclude any special relations between NATO and Ukraine. That is one of the reasons we are very satisfied with the development of Polish-Ukrainian relations. It was very courageous of Poland to come out as the first state to recognize Ukraine. It proved that it has huge skills in carrying out state policy and recognizing state interests.

[Wagrowska] Do the Americans think the agreement on NATO's partnership with Ukraine is to resemble the agreement with Russia?

[Fried] I really do not know how to answer that question. The answer will partially depend on the stance Kiev adopts. In any case, I think Ukraine stands a huge chance of securing a strong position in Europe.

[Wagrowska] Let us assume that Russian-Ukrainian relations will not run along smoothly. How would that influence the European construction?

[Fried] Bad relations between any two states, instability, will not bring anyone any good. That is why it is very important for Poland that Hungary and Slovakia signed an agreement.

The Clinton administration sees stability in Central Europe as a value in itself, not as an instrument. Our East European policy—and I wish to refer to your first question—is not a derivative of our policies toward any other region. We are watching Russia's attitudes toward Central Europe very closely. We would like to develop our own relations with Central Europe that would not be directed against Russia but would guarantee the states of this region the freedom to choose their own road to the West, a smooth road without any obstacles. That is what we see our responsibility to be.

### Weekly on Foreign Minister's U.S. Statement

*WS2607144495 Warsaw GAZETA POLSKA in Polish 27 Jul 95 p 1*

[Commentary by "P.W.": "Ignorance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The minister of foreign affairs, the last person who should interfere with an election campaign in a foreign state and irk the incumbent administration, expressed his hope that the victory of a Republican president in the United States would facilitate Poland's entry into NATO.

Clinton could have retorted that it would help Poland even more if the communists were driven away from the government and dilettantes who have no idea of the basic principles of diplomacy ousted from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

### Bishop Criticizes Nonratification of Concordat

*LD2607190695 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Alojzy Orszulik, the bishop of Lowicz, has said that the fact that the Concordat has

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not yet been ratified is a slap in the face for Pope John Paul II and Polish Catholics. Speaking for the Catholic Information Agency, the bishop said it is shameful that Polish politicians could not reach an accord on ratifying the agreement with the Vatican, given that the pope is Polish and is a moral authority recognized all over the world.

The bishop said that the stance of some of the parties on this issue is a manifestation of arrogance toward the Catholics, who, as he put it, have in the past been subjected to arrogance many times, mostly by the communists, and currently are subjected to it by their heirs. According to Bishop Orszulik, the Concordat has become a subject of political games and an electoral bait in the hands of the postcommunists.

**More on Minister's Views on U.S. Aid for Silesia**

*WS2707114395 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jul 95 p 2*

[Article by "B.C.": "Leszek Miller on Dollars for the Miners; Tough Negotiator"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Labor Minister Leszek Miller has met with the Katowice Voivode and head of the Voivodship Labor Office in Katowice to find out whether Silesia is interested in a nonrefundable loan from the U.S. Department of Labor in the amount of $2.5 million. The money would be allocated to, among other things, retraining miners from mines that are to be closed down because they are unprofitable, create new jobs for them, and help miners become more economically independent by starting small businesses, etc.*

Leszek Miller presented the voivode with an offer made by the World Bank to grant a loan to Poland for restructuring the industry, including mining. The sum of the loan has not yet been established, but preliminary estimates claim it will be between $120 and $250 million. The World Bank has made similar offers to Romania and the Donbas Coal Basin. U.S. experts claim that Poland is best prepared to make use of the loan.

Specific plans must be developed in Silesia, but the entire project will be supervised by the Subcommittee for Regional Policies headed by Deputy Prime Minister Jagielinski. The project should be developed by September, when U.S. financial experts are due to arrive in Poland to discuss the details. Asked by RZECZPOSPOLITA whether Silesia is prepared for this task, Katowice Voivode Eugeniusz Ciszak replied that there have been many papers written on the topic, which should be compiled to create a coherent project and amended to meet requirements established in the course of talks with the Americans. The head of the Labor Office claims it is obvious in which areas new jobs should be formed—services, ecofarming, the health-care system. It remains an open question to what extent the miners themselves will find the project acceptable. [passage omitted]

**New Rightist Bloc To 'Replace' Covenant**

*WS2707114595 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 27 Jul 95 p 3*

[Article by "WZ": "The Right Joins Forces Once Again; The Covenant Is Falling Apart? We Will Have a Council"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Yesterday seven rightist groupings established the Coordinating Political Council of the Patriotic Camp. "We will replace St. Catherine's Covenant, which is falling apart," one of the Council founders told us.*

The Council incorporates the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR], the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], the Peasant Accord, the Movement for the Republic (Romuald Szeremietiew's), the Party of Polish Democracy, the National Democratic Party, and the Center Accord-Integration Initiative (a group headed by Wojciech Dobrzynski that formed within the Center Accord). Some of those groups also belong to St. Catherine's Covenant. During primaries held in Sulejowek, they voted for either Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz or Leszek Moczulski.

At a news conference, journalists complained that they find it difficult to keep track of the plethora of rightist coalitions. "The Covenant and the Council have different objectives," said KPN Chairman Leszek Moczulski. "The Covenant is only to field a joint presidential candidate for the right. The Council is to construct a political camp that will be the candidate's backdrop and then field a joint parliamentary representation." Moczulski called this the Democratic Right Alliance.

He confirmed that the rightist candidate is to be chosen from among five contenders. He mentioned the names of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, Jan Olszewski, and Leszek Moczulski, who all agreed to take part in the St. Catherine's Covenant primaries, and Lech Walesa and Adam Strzembosz, who did not participate. The majority of the Council founders agreed with him. Only Jerzy Gwizdz obstinately claimed that his BBWR has already chosen Lech Walesa and will not change its opinion.

The candidate is to be chosen on the basis of negotiations, poll results, and the number of collected supporting signatures. Journalists were handed lists with the names of all five hopefuls. Each had a header saying: "The right must have a joint candidate." Everyone

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was assured that the most important decisions would be made by St. Catherine's Covenant.

One of the hosts of the news conference told us off the record, however, that the Covenant is "falling apart" and will soon cease to exist. He blamed Jan Olszewski and his supporters for this. He said they are persuading the former prime minister to run in the elections regardless of the Covenant's verdict. "From what I know of Jan Olszewski, he will yield to them," our interlocutor added. He claims that the Council wants to take the initiative after the Covenant disintegrates. It will attempt to create a force that could become an equal partner for the Christian-National Union. Once that happens, it will be time to talk with the Polish Peasant Party and form a joint government coalition.

The founders of the Council announced they will draft a constitution with which the right wants to challenge the constitution that is being developed by the current parliament. It is to synthesize the drafts elaborated by Solidarity (under which the trade union has collected nearly 2 million signatures of support), the Senate of the previous term, and the Alliance for Poland.

"Once the draft is ready, parliamentary factions of the KPN, the BBWR, and Solidarity will submit it to the Sejm as a minority motion. The president might support it," said Krzysztof Krol of the KPN.

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**Paper Alleges Country Smuggling Oil to Serbia**

*LD2607174495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a Romanian newspaper, despite the UN embargo, Romania is continuously supplying oil to Serbia. Apparently the operation is going on with the consent of Vacaroiu, the Romanian head of state.

The Romanian opposition paper ROMANIA LIBERA writes that oil smuggling is going on not only across the Danube. Since January, several oil tankers crossed the border with the prime minister's permission.

The paper also seems to know that 15 percent of the smugglers' income has found its way into the coffers of the Romanian governing party.

**Daily: UDMR Blackmailing Budapest, Bucharest**

*AU2607155995 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 21 Jul 95 pp 1, 3*

[Article by Irinel Radulescu: "The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania Is Blackmailing Both Bucharest and Budapest"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The European Parliament on 13 July adopted a resolution in "unusually concrete" terms, as the leader of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] said, in which Romania was severely criticized for the "restrictive nature of the Law on Education" and for "serious human rights violations." Five days later, UDMR leader Bela Marko said that "this resolution is partly the result of the UDMR's foreign policy," and the UDMR Operative Council adopted a very clear 12-point program of protest actions in connection with "the situation created following the adoption of the Law on Education by Romania's Parliament." One should recall that the 1990 disturbances in Targu Mures were also triggered off by a dispute around schools.

On 19 July, the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs arrived in Bucharest for further talks on reaching a final accord with his Romanian counterpart on the issue of the bilateral treaty. UDMR Senator Attila Verestoy said that "the adoption of the resolution (and probably of the UDMR's program action—our editorial note) came at the right time, in view of Laszlo Kovacs' visit to Romania." Therefore, one can say that the Bucharest visit of the head of the Hungarian diplomacy was prepared extremely well from a practical and propagandistic viewpoint, with the UDMR managing to "shoot" through blackmail both the Hungarian "rabbit" and the Bucharest "rabbit," thus becoming a serious obstacle to the signing of the very necessary bilateral treaty that Hungary needs more than Romania right now.

What does the UDMR stand to gain from the signing of the treaty? Nothing. It only stands to lose, since the impact of its actions would automatically be canceled by the clear terms of a document that it would have to observe. What actions can it take to prevent such a loss? Well, the answer is the blackmail it is practicing both against Budapest and Bucharest.

Hungary's economic difficulties are obviously not a plus for Gyula Horn's government. The only thing that might mask and attenuate them is the national aspect. To ignore the "grievances" of the UDMR and, eventually, of the other Hungarian minorities living outside the Hungarian borders, would be tantamount to political suicide. No Hungarian Government would risk its position by voluntarily leaving itself open to an accusatory propaganda of having betrayed the "sons of the mother nation." Therefore, Budapest seems to be caught in the UDMR web, since it cannot renounce its fellow nationals, but neither can sign a treaty with Romania, which demands that Budapest should reject the UDMR's autonomy claims and intentions. On the other hand, the Bucharest government, whatever its coloring at any given time, cannot afford to accept the UDMR claims. Moreover, it is now confronted with the internationalization of the "problem" of the Hungarian minority, proof of which is exactly the recent resolution of the European Parliament. Therefore, the UDMR is holding both governments in check, by politicking over their heads in various international forums, exerting pressure, and even threatening with a Bosnia-like phenomenon. We should not forget that new disturbances like the ones in Targu Mures might acquire another scope, with due consequences. This may be an explanation of the fact that the world's powers are accepting the UDMR's initiatives, particularly since the same powers have lost control over what was called the Yugoslav syndrome.

It is worth mentioning that the main role in the game is played by the UDMR. Or at least that is what it believes, if we take into consideration the statements of its leaders, who consider Transylvania and the Hungarian minority here as the "preservers of the Hungarian nation's values," after the Mohacs battle, when Hungary lost the war and became a Turkish protectorate. This can be said inasmuch as the UDMR is promoting, as already mentioned, a foreign policy over the heads of the two governments and has a parallel, statelike organization. That is why it is struggling so much to build an enclave around the Hungarian minority and to prevent such a treaty, whose signing would only amount to an official cancellation of the

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three-stage autonomy program adopted at the latest UDMR congress. The question is why the UDMR wants to isolate itself, if the modification of borders—even through peaceful means—is totally out of question, with both the Romanian and Hungarian sides agreeing on that. Some think it might be for electoral reasons. But that is too facile, since the problem does not arise with the majority of the Hungarian electorate. Does the UDMR want to legitimize the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] and thus encourage the Romanian ultranationalism? Does it want to come to power in Budapest? Or is it simply supported by Budapest, which hopes to play both the European and Transylvanian cards, thanks to the UDMR pressures and by speculating with the European fears of a new Yugoslavia? A possible answer will only be given if and when the treaty is ever signed, depending on the terms of its signing. Until then, we will have to follow the blackmail being practiced in this game.

**Privatization Seen as Salvation of Defense Industry**

*AU2607125895 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 24 Jul 95 p 5*

[Article by I. Moise: "The Privatization of the National Defense Industry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Our entire national Defense Ministry is grouped into four public corporations: the GIARA [expansion unknown] and the Romtehnica, which operate under the authority of the National Defense Ministry, and RATMIL and ROMPIRO [both capitalized as published], the latter belonging to the Ministry of Industry. Thus, 90 percent of the defense industry is subordinated to and run by the Ministry of Industry.

The principal customer and business partner of the defense industry is the Army, which, on the basis of the funds allotted to it from the budget, orders various products that suit the technical and combat performance standards this institution has to meet. Our national defense industry has to adapt to the new requirements posed by the armed forces, as well as those of the market. Considering that some markets of our national defense industry have diminished or disappeared altogether, as well as the fact that conquering new markets has become increasingly difficult due to the large international companies, with which it is very difficult to compete, the sole way for our industry's recovery is its privatization, which is a strenuous and lengthy process, and which is to be done in concordance with legal stipulations.

The privatization process itself, as well as the means to be used to achieve it are to be decided upon by the Ministry of Industry and the factors authorized to implement the privatization. The National Defense Ministry does not deny that it is playing the role of principal consulting partner in the process. Currently the armament industry employs about 85,000 persons. The Army is directly interested in the preservation of the most important manufacturing facilities and the experts in whom they invested so much, and the replacement of whom, should they be fired, cannot be achieved "overnight." This is why in the past years, following legislative initiatives coming from the Army, Parliament has periodically passed protection measures, the latest normative act to this purpose being the Law on the Protection of the Defense Sector Assets and Personnel.

Our national defense industry will survive to the extent it manages to adapt to the laws of market economy and competition, which are at the basis of good manufacturing practice.

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## Federal

### FRY, German Communist Parties View Crisis

*AU2607152395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Jul 95*

[Report by Nevenka Djordjevic-Matijevic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The representatives of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia and the German Communist Party today held a joint news conference. Nevenka Djordjevic-Matijevic reports:

[Djordjevic-Matijevic] Greeting the delegation of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, which is paying an official visit to our country for the first time since 1948 and the dissolution of Cominform, Ratko Krsmanovic, president of the Yugoslav Committee of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia, stressed the importance of cooperation among communist and other left-oriented parties in Europe aimed primarily at ending the further destruction and escalation of war in the Balkans. The new so-called world order has a special role in it. The new order is nothing but a dictatorship of multinational capital and the new international and global cooling of relations in the world, Krsmanovic said.

Fridbert Ries, member of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, stressed the common view on the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which must be solved with the exclusively political means.

He used the opportunity to stress the disagreement with the official policy of the Federal Republic of Germany toward the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and expressed regret that German military planes and units after 50 years are again going to the Balkans, where the wounds of the Serbian people who have suffered most in the genocide of the German and Croatian fascism have not healed yet.

At the end of the visit of the German Communist Party, a joint declaration was adopted.

## Montenegro

### NSCG Criticizes Government 'Silence' on Bosnia

*AU2607193695 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 95 p 2*

[Article by B.I. Milicic: "Novak Kilibarda: What Is the Meaning of the Parading of Russians in Belgrade?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica—While the governments, parliaments, and military commands of almost all European countries are continuously analyzing the situation on the ground, carrying out preparations for the future developments, and informing the public on their intentions, the authorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia continue to be totally indolent, as if all these events are happening on some other planet. This was stated at a news conference of the People's Party of Montenegro [NSCG] yesterday.

According to Zelidrag Nikcevic, spokesman of the People's Party, "instead of informing the public on a daily basis on how they perceive the crisis in the region, top officials in our country are parading at various local parties and deal with trivial matters, burying their heads in the sand whenever there is a problem."

Members of the People's Party take the view that the problem does not lie so much in the ruling party as it does in the public, which is not demanding from its leadership explanations and answers to the questions of crucial importance, nor is it proposing that Montenegro Television allow discussions by the representatives of the parliamentary parties on the current events regarding the war in Bosnia. Novak Kilibarda, president of the People's Party, raised several questions on behalf of the Montenegrin public to which answers must be given as soon as possible. For instance, Kilibarda asked what the "Russian policy meant to the Serbian people, who are fighting in two young Serb republics: Has this policy been designed to deceive its own opposition and raise false hopes among the Serbs that 'Mother Russia' will help, or does it represent Russia's inability to use the right to veto."

"The ruling party is obliged to explain to the electorate whether Russia is searching for any political interests in Bosnia that differ from those of the West," Kilibarda said expressing the conviction that the "parading of the Russians in Belgrade is only helping the regime to appear strong in the people's eyes next to the Russian brothers."

Kilibarda is surprised by the fact that "official politicians are not saying anything about how the capture of Srebrenica and Zepa occurred," and wonders whether this is "good or bad." He sees this silence as "shrewdness and flirting with the voters," who are supposed to believe that "this liberation was assisted, and to live in that belief."

At the end, Kilibarda asked why the public in Montenegro is not reacting to the fact that Cilipi Airport near Dubrovnik is being prepared to become a NATO or a U.S. base, and "how will Mr. Bulatovic solve the issue of Prevlaka in the new circumstances."

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## Kosovo

### Serbs Reportedly Create Settlements for Colonists

*AU2607125495*

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 666 on 25 July carries reports on the Serbian police "repression" against Albanians in the province and their attempts to create settlements for Serb "colonists" in many areas.

It is reported that "the Serbian staged trial" against 44 Albanians, most of whom are "former Kosovo police personnel" and local authorities, resumed yesterday in Prizren. The defendants, who include the Turkish Popular Party chairman, are charged with "having been involved in the formation of a parallel police force" in Kosovo as well as in establishing the "Republic of Kosovo Ministry of the Interior" and "plotting against the territorial integrity of Serbia/Yugoslavia." The trial proceedings resumed, "only to be adjourned for 11 August." The newspaper BUJKU reports on 25 July that while the Serb public prosecutor was having his "summer vacation," his substitute declared that "she would not be able to represent the prosecutor's office at this phase of the proceedings" and "demanded that the trial proceedings be adjourned," something which met a "vigorous opposition" by defense lawyers. The defense lawyers also urged that their clients "be medically treated" due to "bad health."

LDK (Democratic League of Kosovo) sources from Malisevo report that a 51-year-old Albanian LDK activist from Llazic village in Malisevo had to "seek medical treatment" at the Dakovica hospital after "the Serbian police ill-treated him brutally on 19 July allegedly in connection with arms searches." His health condition continues to be "very bad." Reports note that "his house has been raided by the police twice, whereas he himself has been maltreated six times in the Serbian police stations." Reports say that the Albanian, who has been a "military invalid" since 1968, was "gravely maltreated" by the deputy commander in chief of the Serbian police station in Kijeva.

Another report notes that "local Serbian authorities in Istog [Istok] and Gjurakovc [Durakovac] have announced allocation of 122 plots of construction land for the building of family houses dedicated to Serb colonists, who are to be settled there according to Belgrade-regime's colonisation schemes." Citing the local Serbian daily JEDINSTVO, the report notes that "urbanistic blueprints are being designed for two settlements named Duskaja and Rasadnik. The settlements are to be erected along the Istog-Mitrovica and the Istog-Gjurakovc roads."

A report by the LDK Information Commission in Vitina says that, "under the pretext of arms searches" and "political reasons," the Serbian police "ill-treated" more than 500 Albanian families in the Vitina municipality over the past six months. During this period, the Serbian police "summoned" 157 persons to "report" to the police station "allegedly in connection with possession of arms." The police "ill-treated" 205 Albanians "in various forms" and "summoned" 30 others to the "so-called police informative talks." The report notes that the police harassed 30 Albanian political activists in the region and "seized" the passports of five individuals. Three Albanian youths were "forcefully drafted into the Serbian Army." Concluding, the report notes that the number of "ill-treated Albanian families and individuals is greater, but many of them do not report their cases fearing heavier police repercussions."

Sources in Urosevac say that, "allegedly in connection with illegal arms possession," the Serbian police on 21 July arrested three Albanians from Koshare village and detained them at the station "for several hours." They were "ordered" to report to the police station again in the morning, while one of them was subject to "police torture." "Under the same pretext," the Serbian police summoned another Albanian from Koshare village and four others from Dremnjak village to "report" to the police station in Nerodime.

It is also reported that the chairman of a local association in Prizren was "questioned" by the Serbian police for a couple of hours on 24 July in connection with "association's activities."

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